

DIVUS AUGUSTUS PATER:
TIBERIUS AND THE CHARISMA OF AUGUSTUS

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According to Max Weber, revolutionary transformation results from charismatic leadership. This charisma is defined as “a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (*Economy and Society* I.241). No one can deny that Augustus’ “Roman revolution,” to borrow a phrase from Syme, required such charisma. But while other Republican leaders had possessed the same quality (e.g. Marius, Sulla, Julius Caesar), Augustus’ revolutionary measures, unlike theirs, outlived the charismatic leader. In Weberian terms, this resulted from the routinization of charisma.

This dissertation examines several key issues of the development of the principate. Why does Tiberius accept responsibility for consolidating a hereditary monarchy? And more importantly, how does an unpopular ruler like Tiberius secure the acceptance of Augustus’ position in the state as a hereditary position? Is Tiberius consistent throughout his reign in following Augustus’ *facta dictaque vice legis* (Tac. *Ann.* IV.37)? Finally, how does Tiberius routinize the charisma of Augustus into a system which would survive no matter how uncharismatic the emperor might be?

Beginning with an inspection of the assumption of power by Tiberius (chapter one), this study continues (chapter two) with an analysis of the imperial cult as it developed into an institution under Tiberius. Although the ideology of Tiberius’ reign consistently promoted the image and ideals of Augustus while Tiberius himself remained

in the background (chapter three), Tiberius nonetheless established stability in a previously unstable system (chapter four) by confirming the charisma of Augustus in its depersonalized form. Although forced to confront the problematic legal issues in preserving Augustus' *maiestas* and that of the principate, Tiberius nevertheless protected the image of the *domus Augusta* and ensured the peaceful succession of Caligula (chapter five). As a result, the image of Augustus as the ideal ruler continued to justify the office of the principate long after the fall of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (chapter 6).

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In the year 14 A.D., after a long and relatively peaceful reign, Augustus died at the ripe old age of 76. He had no son of his own blood. His adopted sons—his grandsons by his disgraced daughter Julia—had died over a decade prior. After their deaths, he had adopted his stepson, Tiberius, having compelled Tiberius first to adopt his own nephew Germanicus. The Republic *de facto* had died many years before, and as the series of military despots and civil wars which preceded the rule of Augustus had proven, the security of Rome rested upon a smooth transition between Augustus and his successor. And yet things could have gone another way—another triumvirate, another civil war. The testimony of Velleius Paterculus indicates the sentiment felt at the time:

Quid tunc homines timuerint, quae senatus trepidatio, quae populi confusio, quis urbis metus, in quam arto salutis exitiique fuerimus confinio, neque mihi tam festinanti exprimere vacat neque cui vacat potest. Id solum voce publica dixisse satis habeo: cuius orbis ruinam timueramus eum ne commotum quidem sensimus, tantaque unius viri maiestas fuit, ut nec pro bonis neque contra malos opus armis foret. Una tamen veluti luctatio civitatis fuit, pugnantis cum Caesare senatus populi que Romani, ut stationi paternae succederet, illius, ut potius aequalem civem quam eminentem liceret agere principem. Tandem magis ratione quam honore victus est, cum quidquid tuendum non suscepisset, perituum videret, solique huic contigit paene diutius recusare principatum, quam, ut occuparent eum, alii armis pugnauerunt. (II.124)

This lengthy passage from the contemporary historian is our only eyewitness account of the transition between the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Despite Syme's claim that "the assertion is negligible, no more meriting credence than what the same person has to relate about the phenomenal virtues of the Tiberian regime," there seems little reason to doubt Velleius' veracity in expressing the anxiety felt after the death of

Augustus.¹ Due to the length of Augustus' reign, many in 14 A.D. may have not lived through the chaos of the civil wars themselves, but the cultural memory of those years was still strong enough to generate the fear that the same strife which followed the death of Julius Caesar would engulf the Roman world yet again. Indeed, at the opposite end of the historiographic spectrum, Tacitus, perhaps the most potent critic of the Tiberian regime, states that on the death of Augustus, *pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere* (*Ann.* 1.4.2).² What if Tiberius had actually refused to assume absolute power? Tacitus states that Augustus in his last days had considered four men besides Tiberius as each being *capax imperii* (*Ann.* 1.13). Germanicus was not one of them. Furthermore, neither Germanicus nor any one else held the proconsular *imperium* and tribunician *potestas* conferred upon Tiberius by Augustus during the last years of his reign. Indeed, at the time of Augustus' death, only Tiberius held the sufficient powers to place him in the position of *princeps civilis*.

The question of Augustus' immediate successor is of vital importance in examining the duration and nature of the Roman Empire. Had Augustus been succeeded by another military despot intent on wiping out his reforms, he would have stood in a long line of late Republican figures who possessed power and charisma, a concept to which we shall return shortly, but whose revolutionary reforms had no lasting effect on the nature of government. In order for the power and charisma amassed by Augustus during his lengthy reign to outlive their creator, it was necessary that his successor adopt the same policies and promote the same ideology. In other words, the true test of the power of the principate was not the reign of Augustus, but that of Tiberius.

¹ Syme, *Tacitus* 1.367.

² Syme, who rejects Velleius' account of the fear following the death of Augustus, cites this passage from Tacitus but summarily dismisses it as exaggeration, *ibid.* 1.370, n. 1.

A. Background and definition of charisma

The theories employed by Max Weber in explaining the success or failure of such charismatic revolutions can help illuminate this phenomenon in world political history and highlight the importance of Tiberius' role as the successor of Augustus. In his seminal work *Economy and Society*, Weber defines charisma as, "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities."³ Fears ascribes this charisma to every Roman emperor, conceiving the princeps in terms of the Hellenistic ruler cult.⁴ While this could be held true for the east, where ruler worship had long been established, at Rome it seems misguided to attribute personal charisma to every emperor *per se*. Rather, true charisma is a rare and revolutionary quality and yet, as we shall see, one that can be transferred to others and used to institutionalize reforms.

At the opposite end of the spectrum from Fears, Veyne denies any charismatic authority to the Roman emperor, stating, "He is a virtuous sovereign, not a charismatic leader, a conception that is too modern, appropriate to societies with a public opinion, in which the leader rises to power not through a right he possesses but through the force of circumstances, the objective fact that he is the best man—a fact which is as good as popular delegation and may take its place."⁵ But Veyne's work concerns itself with the socio-economic relationship forged between leader and led through euergetism. He is interested in the way the emperor generated loyalty through *beneficia* and reduces the relationship between the emperor and his subjects to that of economic and political

³ *Economy and Society* 1.241.

⁴ *Princeps a diis electus* 132.

⁵ *Bread and Circuses* 306.

exchange. While this exchange is certainly important and worthy of study, this approach fails to conceive of the unique position of Augustus within the context of the late Republic. There was no “objective fact” involved in Octavian’s rise to power. He inherited the title *Divi filius* and used his own personal charisma, combined with the critical circumstances of the time, to bring about an irreversible change in Roman government. For while he may have inherited the charismatic popularity of Julius Caesar, to deny his own personal charisma is to deny the Augustan “miracle” so appropriately summarized by Syme, who affirms, “The ascension of Caesar’s heir had been a series of hazards and miracles: his constitutional reign as acknowledged head of the Roman State was to baffle by its length and solidity all human and rational calculation.”⁶

Christoph Hatscher’s analysis of this phenomenon, however, *Charisma und Res Publica*, ends the line of truly charismatic leaders with Julius Caesar, despite the fact that he includes Octavian in his list of the charismatic figures of the late Republic.⁷ But the reforms which Julius Caesar tried to implement were too shocking to the traditional system to effect any lasting change, while those of Augustus endured for centuries after his death. Edward Shils, expounding on Weber, states regarding revolutionary charismatic movements that they are usually unsuccessful when they attempt to overthrow traditional systems, but “Less often, the movement is successful, and the result is a charismatic order or at least an order in which a charismatic overlay covers the more tenacious routines of the older institutional system.”⁸ This is precisely what occurred under Augustus’ *res publica restituta*.

⁶ *Roman Revolution* 1.

⁷ *Charisma und Res Publica* 75.

⁸ *Center and Periphery* 132.

Weber's theories describe how charismatic leaders rise to power and are able to achieve revolutionary reforms, especially in moments of crisis. As Shils notes, "The incapacity of the hitherto prevailing institutions to afford moral and metaphysical nurture and succor to those who feel the need for it, and to afford it under morally and cosmically right auspices, generates in these defenseless persons a state of mind which is fertile for the seed of the more intensely creative charismatic persons."⁹ The civil wars which had engulfed Rome for a century had produced such an environment. In response, there was a succession of charismatic leaders who attempted to restore order. Augustus had discovered the formula through which this could be achieved.

Although Weber did not specifically apply his theories to the formation of the principate in any detailed manner, he did observe:

Even though the notion of heritability of charisma was used in the case of succession by adoption—by the way, without ever being accepted as an explicit principle in the period of the military emperorship—, the principate itself always remained an office and the princeps continued to be an official with specified bureaucratic jurisdiction as long as the military emperorship retained its Roman character. To have established the principate as an office was the achievement of Augustus, whose reform appeared to contemporaries as the preservation and restoration of Roman tradition and liberty, in contrast to the notion of a Hellenistic monarchy that was probably on Caesar's mind.¹⁰

Viewing Augustus as a truly charismatic leader and his revolution as one which can be examined with reference to Weber's theories on charismatic leadership, one must ask what made the principate successful. Augustus had restored the Republic to the people and the Senate nominally, but retained ultimate control by virtue of his charismatic leadership. This position was legitimized through powers such as a proconsular *imperium* and tribunician *potestas*, and eventually through his position as

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ *Economy and Society* 2.1125.

Pontifex Maximus. Using the language of the Republic and transforming traditional positions, Augustus established continuity between the old order and the new.

Ando has touched upon this in his study of *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty*, but as the title suggests, his study is concerned with a broader analysis of the entire principate both chronologically and spatially. Nevertheless, although referring to Julius Caesar as the first emperor of Rome, Ando attributes the true revolution in Roman society to Augustus. He notes, “Augustus, however, ultimately desired to disguise his domination behind a Republican guise; his ability to repudiate his ties to Julius Caesar and the triumphal era, ironically, came to him only because he acquired a transcendent charismatic status in his own right.”¹¹ It was in establishing his own personal charisma that Augustus achieved stability in the shadow of the civil wars. It was in using the charisma of Augustus that Tiberius was able to continue that stability after the death of Augustus.

Enough has been written already about the Augustan revolution, most notably by Mommsen, Premierstein, Béranger, W. Weber, Syme, and Hammond, among others, and it is not the goal of this current study to revisit the old arguments concerning the transformations within Roman government brought about by the charismatic first princeps.¹² Nonetheless, the true test of any revolutionary charismatic movement is its survival after the death of the charismatic leader. The charisma must become routinized by the successor(s) of the movement in order for the revolution to last. As Bensman and Givant point out, “In almost all the historical cases of pure charisma, the routinization of

¹¹ *Imperial Ideology* 29.

¹² For specific titles, see bibliography.

the charisma did not occur within the lifetime of the charismatic leader.”¹³ The routinization (*Veralltäglicung*) of charisma, however, still requires the charismatic authority which inspired the movement in order to succeed.

This charismatic authority, according to Weber, can be depersonalized and “transformed into a quality that is either (a) transferable or (b) personally acquirable or (c) attached to the incumbent of an office or to an institutional structure regardless of the persons involved.”¹⁴ The transfer can take place through blood ties of heredity, through designation of the successor by his predecessor or divine intervention, or by election to an office. In the principate we see an attempt to utilize all three of these methods of transferring charisma to legitimate the position created by Augustus. Thus, even emperors who rule after the demise of the dynastic Julio-Claudian line, from the Flavians to the tetrarchy and beyond, legitimate their authority by identifying with the program of Augustus.

This depersonalization of charisma is crucial to understanding the power with which the position of the principate was held, and how Tiberius’ legitimization of his own power through Augustus’ charismatic *auctoritas* routinized the position of one special man into a lasting institution. In order for this to have happened, Augustus’ successor needed to be a definitively uncharismatic leader. But at the same time, this uncharismatic leader had to be someone who could continue to uphold not only the policies of his predecessor, but his image as well. Had Augustus been succeeded by a truly charismatic leader, more changes would have taken place like those under the succession of charismatic leaders preceding Augustus, causing a shock to the system and

¹³ “Charisma and Modernity,” in *Charisma, History, and Social Structure* 34.

¹⁴ *Economy and Society* 2.1135.

leading to more bloodshed. Despite the personal dislike Augustus may have felt for the decidedly uncharismatic Tiberius, it was clear that he was the ideal candidate for the position. This choice of successor was not easily come by.

While Augustus may have wished for someone of his own blood to succeed him, during his reign he carefully established ties with many of the major households of the old Republican nobility. As mentioned above, Tacitus relates that Augustus in the last days of his reign had alluded to four other men whom he considered as successor—*Manium Lepidum capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum*—and as an alternative to Arruntius, Cn. Piso (*Ann.* 1.13). However, none of these *nobiles* were as closely related to Augustus through familial connections as Tiberius, nor were any of them as politically important to the Augustan regime.¹⁵ Furthermore, according to Seneca, Augustus realized the necessity of perpetuating the rule through his own charismatic *domus*. Augustus rebuked Cinna who had tried to overthrow him by saying, *Cedo, si spes tuas solus impedio, Paulusne te et Fabius Maximus et Cossi et Servilii ferunt tantumque agmen nobilium non inania nomina praeferentium, sed eorum, qui imaginibus suis decori sint?* (*De Ben.* I.9.10).¹⁶ The only way to avoid bloodshed in the succession was for the next princeps to come from within the *domus Augusta*.

Aside from Tacitus' conjecture of alternatives to Tiberius as successor, Suetonius recounts that Augustus, *sed vitiis Tiberi virtutibusque perpensis potiores duxisse virtutes, praesertim cum et rei publicae causa adoptare se eum pro contione iuraverit et epistulis*

¹⁵ See Syme, *Tacitus* 1.380-83, 2.486, 694. Syme believes Tacitus was influenced to add this anecdote later by the murder of four consulars upon the succession of Hadrian. This notion has been dismissed by later commentators, especially Goodyear 181-84.

¹⁶ I do not believe, as Shotter, "Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus and the adoption of Tiberius," *Latomus* 33 (1974) 306-313, proposes, that the conspiracy of Cinna led to the adoption of Tiberius in 4. A.D.

aliquot ut peritissimum rei militaris utque unicum publicae rei prosequatur (Tib. 21.3).

At the time of Augustus' death, no man had as much inside knowledge of the *arcana imperii*, nor, by virtue of the adoptions of 4 A.D., so close a familial connection to the princeps as Tiberius. But another man who was experienced, if not as experienced, stood closer to Augustus by blood.

It is related by Suetonius that Augustus toyed with the idea of leaving his power to Germanicus.¹⁷ The same notion is mentioned by Tacitus, although Tacitus adds his own insinuation that Tiberius won out through the feminine wiles of Livia.¹⁸ While Germanicus may have been popular, he was still untried. Any attempt at rule undertaken by him at this time would have damaged the Augustan settlement. His own actions regarding the mutiny of his men and his impromptu excursion to Egypt demonstrate that the young prince was completely oblivious to the policies and ideology of Augustus, even if in some ways he was their ultimate exemplar.¹⁹ In other words, he was a product, not a producer of the Augustan system. Furthermore, Germanicus was an extremely charismatic figure in his own right. His popularity with the troops indicates as much, even if his behavior in the face of crisis was less than exemplary. Had he succeeded Augustus, he could have undone through his charismatic popularity a good deal of the increasingly unpopular reforms instituted by Augustus. In other words, he would have ruled by virtue of his own charisma and would not have routinized that of Augustus.

Tiberius, on the other hand, was the opposite of the Augustan ideal. One cannot

¹⁷ *ut Augustus...diu cunctatus an sibi successorem destinaret, adoptandum Tiberio dederit* (Suet. *Cal.* 4).

¹⁸ *Nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae inponere, sed precibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium adscivit* (Tac. *Ann.* 4.57).

¹⁹ On Germanicus as an inept administrator of Augustan policies, see Shotter, "Tacitus, Tiberius and Germanicus," *Historia* 17 (1968) 194-213. This matter will be examined more closely below in chapters 4 and 5.

help but notice the irony that a conservative Republican Claudian was forced to perpetuate a system which, having enervated the Senate, was almost completely destroyed by his successor Caligula, a true scion of the Augustan blood. Nevertheless, Tiberius understood all too well that the powerful charismatic force of Augustus could not be surmounted. The changes which took place under Augustus were firmly rooted in Republican offices and ideology and could not easily be extracted. Augustus had reigned too long and too well for his revolution to be undone. As Kornemann points out, “Es war eine kritische Stunde für Rom. Denn nun handelte es sich darum, ob die Verfassung, die Augustus dem Staate gegeben hatte, auch ohne den grossen Staatsschöpfer von Dauer sein oder nur eine Episode darstellen werde.”²⁰ The only chance for the survival of both his country and himself was for Tiberius to routinize the charisma of his adoptive father.

According to Tacitus, some critics of Augustus charged that by leaving Tiberius as a successor, he *comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse* (Ann.1.10). Suetonius also gives this report, but discredits it saying, *Adduci tamen nequeo quin existimem, circumspectissimum et prudentissimum principem in tanto praesertim negotio nihil temere fecisse* (Tib. 21.2). Perhaps the correct interpretation of these two statements is that Augustus knew in order for his system to survive, his successor, who would be the heir to a charismatic position, could not possess a personal charisma which could propagate further change. That is to say, it was imperative that Augustus be followed by someone who would seem inferior in comparison, but who would actually preserve the institutions of the previous regime. In order for the principate to become routinized and for the Roman Republic to survive in its new form under a stabilized government, the successor of Augustus had to maintain the popularity not of himself, but of his

²⁰ Tiberius 53.

predecessor.

B. Succession

1. Rivals

The position of Tiberius at the death of Augustus was considerably more secure than that of Octavian at the death of Julius Caesar. While Octavian had been taken under the wing of his great-uncle, he had not yet been adopted and had not held any major Republican magistracy. He was still a teenager, a member of the equestrian class, and a political unknown. The fact that he overcame rivals as formidable as Sextus Pompey and Marc Antony defies any other explanation than that he did so partly through manipulation of the charismatic image of Julius Caesar, but more importantly, through careful attention to his own self-presentation. Indeed, his testamentary adoption by Julius Caesar was disputed and almost entirely discarded. And while his initial position was precarious and would not be consolidated until his father was accepted as divine (thanks to popular support combined with the exploitation of a timely comet), Octavian eventually triumphed by virtue of his own personal charisma.

Tiberius, on the other hand, at the time of his accession was middle-aged, of noble birth, and through his own merits had held a number of prestigious positions within the regime. Even without Livia's intervention, Tiberius as a Claudian on both sides would have risen to great heights within the government. Moreover, thanks to Augustus, Tiberius held proconsular *imperium* that was equal to that of the princeps, as well as the tribunician *potestas* which Tiberius advertised throughout his reign. Tiberius had been married to Augustus' daughter prior to her banishment, and was his step-son by virtue of Augustus' marriage to Livia. The ultimate designation was conferred through Augustus'

adoption of Tiberius as his son after *filios meos quos iuvenes mihi eripuit fortuna Gaium et Lucium Caesares* (RG 14.1). Syme believes this adoption in 4 A.D. was the pivotal point in determining the principate as an institution and that Tacitus regretted not beginning his *Annals* here, but he himself admits, “Authoritative reasons spoke for 14, at least on the face of things....It marked a firm date. Being transmitted the imperial authority acquired definition. The principate was now recognized as a permanent form of government, with prerogatives not granted separately (and some ostensibly for a period of years), but confirmed in one act, and for the lifetime of the ruler.”²¹

So this adoption in 4 A.D. may have solidified Tiberius’ position within the household of Augustus along with his position within the government, but there were still rivals to his succession. Augustus had also adopted Agrippa Postumus, his last surviving grandson, as well as having compelled Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, Augustus’ great-nephew. Both of these men stood closer to Augustus in terms of blood-kinship, one of the factors of depersonalized charismatic legitimization of authority described by Weber. Nevertheless, they had not acquired the same authority through public office as had Tiberius, nor did they have the same political experience. The succession of either one of them would have been a disaster. Through adoption, Augustus had maneuvered Tiberius into the charismatic *gens Julia*. Likewise, Augustus thwarted any possible rivalry between Tiberius and Germanicus by compelling Tiberius to adopt the latter.²² Germanicus would get his turn provided that he was willing to wait.²³

Agrippa could not be controlled quite so easily, however, having already been

²¹ Tacitus 1.369.

²² On the security this would have afforded Tiberius, see Timpe, *Untersuchungen zur Kontinuität* 29.

²³ According to Tacitus, Tiberius hesitated in taking power, *Causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare mallet* (Ann. I.7).

banished as a result of his violent tendencies. His survival after the death of Augustus would have provided potential enemies to the established order with a chance to destroy it completely, as is evidenced later by the conspiracy surrounding Agrippa's slave Clemens in 16 A.D. The potentially dangerous rival had to be eliminated. Sallustius Crispus took care of the matter. It makes no difference whether Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, or all three of them were ultimately responsible for the murder of Agrippa. More than likely the step, as Hohl asserts, was a shrewd maneuver taken by the outgoing princeps to ensure the security of the succession.²⁴ Indeed, the absence of Agrippa's name in the will read before the Senate attests that Augustus presumed the young man would be dead when the will was read. Despite Lewis' attempt to prove that this omission could have occurred even if Agrippa were still alive, he still agrees that Augustus was probably responsible for his death.²⁵

It should also be mentioned that Sallustius Crispus, who does not appear in Dio's or Suetonius' account of the murder, plays the decisive role and is the only one who can be held accountable for what happened to Agrippa. As Kehoe has perceptively noted, Sallustius appears in the historical record only in the early years of Tiberius' reign, and in references outside of Tacitus is never mentioned as a friend of Tiberius, but rather of Augustus.²⁶ Sallustius is also employed to dispose of the conspirator Clemens two years later. Of course in this case, Tiberius is clearly responsible. Nevertheless, it seems

²⁴ "Primum facinus novi principatus," *Hermes* 70 (1935) 350-55. The theories about the death of Agrippa Postumus are wide-ranging and inconclusive. Important studies aside from Hohl include: Pappano, "Primum facinus novi principatus," *CP* 36 (1941) 30-45, Detweiler, "Historical perspectives on the death of Agrippa Postumus," *CJ* 65 (1970) 289-295, and Lewis, "Primum facinus novi principatus," in *Auckland Classical Essays* (1970) 165-184. Also should be mentioned the theories of Allen, "The Death of Agrippa Postumus," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 131-139, that Agrippa died a natural death, and Jameson, "Augustus and Agrippa Postumus," *Historia* 24 (1975) 287-314, that Sallustius was solely responsible.

²⁵ "Primum facinus."

²⁶ "Tacitus and Sallustius Crispus," *CJ* 80 (1984-5) 247-254. Aside from his appearance in Tacitus, Sallustius Crispus is also mentioned by Seneca (*De Clem.* 1.10.1), and Pliny the Elder (*NH* 34.3).

striking that in the Tacitean obituary of Sallustius (*Ann.* 3.30), he is compared to Maecenas among the intimates of Augustus, and not distinguished as a companion of Tiberius.

Tacitus states that the murder of Agrippa was the *primum facinus novi principatus* (*Ann.* 1.6.1), but does not specify the crime as that *novi principis*.²⁷ Throughout the first book of the *Annals* Tacitus assigns the blame for the destruction of the Republic equally between the outgoing and incoming emperors. Indeed, one can only wonder what the reputation of Augustus would have suffered had Tacitus fulfilled his promise to write the history of his reign.²⁸ While writing the reign of Tiberius, Tacitus takes every opportunity to attack the old regime as well as the new. Yet no matter who killed Agrippa, in the opinion of his contemporaries, Tiberius ultimately bore the blame.²⁹ Whether or not this was intentional on Augustus' part can never be determined, but we can see with the murder of Agrippa a pattern which continued throughout the reign of Tiberius. In his imitation and continuation of policies instituted by the charismatic Augustus, Tiberius repeatedly failed to convince anyone of his sincerity. Instead, he became a scapegoat for all that was wrong with the Augustan system. The charismatic Augustus was increasingly idolized, while the uncharismatic Tiberius was increasingly detested. As Syme puts it with regard to Tacitus' account of the reign of Tiberius, "In fine, the historian might have hit upon a strange but captivating idea: after, no less than before, Tiberius was the victim of Augustus."³⁰

²⁷ On this point see Klingner, "Tacitus über Augustus und Tiberius," in *Tacitus* 505, and Hohl, "Primum facinus," 354.

²⁸ *Sed aliorum exitus, simul cetera alius aetatis memorabo, si effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produxero* (*Ann.* 3.24). On Augustus in the first book of the *Annals*, see O'Gorman, "On not writing about Augustus: Tacitus' *Annals* Book 1," *MD* 35 (1995) 91-114.

²⁹ See especially Tacitus *Ann.* 1.6 and Furneaux's note on *credibile erat* as reflecting contemporary opinion.

³⁰ *Tacitus* 1.428.

2. Rituals

This brings us to the first instance of Tiberian imitation of Augustus—the *recusatio imperii*.³¹ Having set the stage for the events which took place after the death of Augustus, we must now focus more closely on the ceremony of the succession. Many have attempted to unravel the exact details regarding Tiberius' *dies imperii*. What is important for the purposes of the present study, however, is not when, but rather how Tiberius assumed absolute power.³² The refusal of power which seemed hypocritical to both ancient and modern observers formed an integral part in the legitimization of charismatic authority. In other words, Tiberius denied his own ability to live up to the burden borne by Augustus, and as a result recreated the situation of 27 B.C. when Augustus attempted to give up power. Whether or not Tiberius was sincere in 14 A.D. cannot be determined. Most certainly his predecessor had not intended to give up power in 27. In both situations, however, the previously illegitimate authority based solely on designation by a charismatic predecessor became legitimized through an acknowledgement of the *consensus omnium*, and more importantly, the Senate.

Tacitus recognized that Tiberius was legitimizing his power and attempting to show that he *dabat et famae, ut vocatus electus potius a re publica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse* (*Ann.* 1.7). Thus, despite his own

³¹ The most thorough treatment of this topic, especially within the context of the present discussion is that of Béranger, *Principatus* 165ff. and *Recherches* 137ff. Grenade, *Essai sur les origines du Principat* 394ff., follows along the same lines.

³² Several studies have attempted to undo the Gordian knot surrounding Tiberius' *dies imperii*, the most influential being Fabia, "L'avènement officiel de Tibère: examen du récit de Tacite (*Ann.* 1, 11-13)," *RPh* 33 (1909) 28-58, Hohl, "Wann hat Tiberius das Prinzipat übernommen?," *Hermes* 68 (1933) 105-15, Kampff, "Three Senate Meetings in the Early Principate," *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 25-58, Lang, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kaisers Tiberius* (1911), Pippidi, *Autour de Tibère* 125-132, Wellesley, "The *Dies Imperii* of Tiberius," *JRS* 57 (1967) 23-30, Flach, *Historia* 22 (1973) 552-569, and Sage, *AncSoc* 13-14 (1982-3) 293-321. See also the commentaries on Tacitus by Furneaux, Goodyear, and Koestermann ad loc., as well as Woodman's comments on the Tacitean account in *Tacitus Reviewed* 40-69.

misgivings about assuming power, Tiberius must have realized from the start that he would have to assume responsibility for perpetuating the rule of Augustus. If he had no desire to be princeps, he should not have accepted the honors awarded to him before the death of Augustus. It was too late now for him to refuse. He held a *lupum auribus* and could not let go (Suet. *Tib.* 25.1).

The charade which took place after the death of Augustus legitimated not only Tiberius' power as princeps, but also his position as the successor of a charismatic leader who had previously made a show of deprecating his own power. The image of continuity had to exist in order for the illusion to survive. As a result, the manner in which Tiberius conducted himself throughout this period requires some examination. According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 98-99) and Velleius (2.123), Tiberius was present at the deathbed of Augustus and received final instructions from him. Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.5) and Dio (56.29-31) report this version of events with greater skepticism. In Tacitus and Dio, the circumstances of Augustus' death are far more sinister. Reports that Augustus was poisoned by Livia because he had intended to restore Agrippa to his rightful place in the *domus Augusta* resound with a suspicious echo of Livy's account of Tanaquil's behavior following the death of Tarquinius Priscus.³³ Likewise, as Martin has shown, the verbal similarities to the narrative of the accession of Nero following the death of Claudius make it clear that one account was coloring the other.³⁴ As it is far more likely that the latter account would be more accurate, it seems that here Tacitus is trying to blacken unfairly the reputation of Livia. Indeed, as Goodyear has reasonably asked, if Livia did poison Augustus and was forced to keep his death a secret until Tiberius arrived, why did

³³ See Charlesworth, "Tiberius and the Death of Augustus," *AJP* 44 (1923) 145-57.

³⁴ "Tacitus and the Death of Augustus," *CQ* 49 (1955) 123-128. A follow-up to Martin's article on Tacitus' treatment of the death of Agrippa by Woodman can be found in *Tacitus Reviewed* 23-39.

she wait until after Tiberius had left his escort to do so? He thus concludes, “Both T. and Dio come off very badly in their accounts of the last days of Augustus. They present variant forms of the same fabrication, a fabrication which probably developed by a number of stages in the first-century writers, having originated in the malicious gossip of contemporaries.”³⁵

Upon the death of Augustus, Tiberius issued orders to the soldiers by virtue of his *imperium*, and convened the Senate through his tribunician powers. Tiberius also imitated Augustus’ administration of an oath of loyalty, which Octavian compelled the people and the army to swear when he seized sole power in 32 B.C. in order to proceed against Antony. This oath was periodically renewed throughout Augustus’ reign. Along with this oath of loyalty arose an oath to uphold Augustus’ *acta*.³⁶ While Tiberius administered an oath of loyalty regarding himself, he allowed the Senate to swear only by the acts of Augustus and not his own. This distinction between the two oaths was critical in establishing the impression that Tiberius was ruling not only *consensu universorum*, but also *consensu Augusti*.

Thus his first act in the Senate was to arrange for the funeral and deification of Augustus. Realizing the crucial role that the deification of Julius Caesar had played in the legitimization of the position of Octavian, Tiberius also recognized that the charismatic fervor of the masses could erupt in violence. Consequently, he would not allow the body to be burned in the forum, prompting the crowd to remark, according to Tacitus, that *nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisus etiam heredum in rem*

³⁵ *Annals* 128.

³⁶ On the difference between the loyalty oath and the swearing by the *acta*, see Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid* 107-110. Also Mitford, “A Cypriot oath of allegiance to Tiberius,” *JRS* 50 (1960) 74-79, and Seibert, “Der Huldigungseid auf Kaiser Tiberius,” *Historia* 19 (1970) 224-231.

publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius quieta foret (Ann. 1.9).³⁷ Although Tiberius attempted to give the impression of piety, ultimately, in his practical attempt to maintain order, he earned a reputation for hypocrisy. But his fears that the popularity of Augustus, exceeding that of Julius Caesar, might cause a violent outburst which would disrupt the orderly conduct of the funeral were well founded (witness the mutinies among the provincial armies), especially when one considers the unpopularity of the new princeps. Having no rival party with which to contend, Tiberius did not need to recreate the political chaos of 44 B.C. It was in his own best interests to curb public fervor while letting it run its course. This *pietas* and *moderatio*, as we shall see, would become hallmarks of Tiberius' ideological presentation of himself.

Having buried Augustus and having had him deified in the Senate, Tiberius had fulfilled the filial duties which *pietas* required. It was only then that he addressed the political aspects of his new position. This sequence is critical in understanding the *recusatio*. Tiberius had to make it clear that he regarded his duties towards Augustus as coming before his own political ambitions. The moving eulogy pronounced by Tiberius at Augustus' funeral and recreated by Dio recalls the *vis* if not the *verba* of the impression Tiberius was trying to give at this time. He had to appear as the legitimate heir to Augustus in order to be able to inherit his charismatic *auctoritas*. Augustus aided Tiberius in this assertion of charismatic authority transferred through hereditary lines by means of his testamentary adoption of Livia as his daughter. While some, including Livia herself, may have seen this as a move by Augustus to establish a check on Tiberius' power, in reality the adoption of Livia into the Julian line established Tiberius, formerly a

³⁷ For a discussion of this passage, in particular the expression *provisis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus*, see Béranger, *Principatus* 331ff.

Claudian on both sides of his parentage, as a Julian in the same respect.³⁸

With regards to the mutinies of which Tiberius may or may not have been aware at the time he accepted power, it seems likely that Syme is correct in asserting, “If the legions on the Rhine and in Pannonia raised mutiny, they did not protest against system or succession. The troops merely seized the chance to voice their legitimate grievances long postponed or cheated.”³⁹ Tiberius’ method of dealing with them through his sons imitated Augustan policy and demonstrates that Tiberius, by virtue of his proconsular *imperium*, felt himself to be in legal control of at least the armies in the first few weeks of his reign. The basic nature of the principate, of course, lay in the control of the armies. Tiberius’ quick action in this sphere clearly indicates that his hesitation in accepting power before the Senate was due more to his respect for the Republican facade maintained by his predecessor than an overpowering fear of Germanicus. As Marsh astutely states, “Although we may find it impossible to believe that Tiberius was sincere in his professed reluctance, nevertheless, his conduct on this occasion involved no real hypocrisy but only a strict adherence to the theory of the constitution.”⁴⁰

The difference between Tiberius’ refusal of power and that of Augustus, is that the Senate had now experienced the benefits of *pax* and *libertas* under a good princeps. Upon Tiberius’ accession, they felt a brief sense of freedom as the incoming princeps adjusted to handling the reins of his father’s rule without himself possessing charismatic authority. In other words, the Senate was not overawed by Tiberius, but they knew that

³⁸ The idea of Livia as *Mitregent* stems from Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* 2.2 795, and has been rejected by later scholars. On the adoption of Livia as strengthening the position of Tiberius see Kornemann, *Tiberius* 54. On the Hellenistic flavor of the adoption and renaming of Livia, see Ritter, “Livias Erhebung zur Augusta,” *Chiron* 2 (1972) 313-338.

³⁹ *Tacitus* 1.370.

⁴⁰ *Tiberius* 50.

he was the only man who could legitimately claim to succeed Augustus. As a result, they could not or would not pretend, as they had in 27 B.C., that the principate was anything other than a monarchy masked by Republican institutions. They forced Tiberius to reveal the true nature of the position, and as a result, turned the historical precedent set by Augustus in 27 into a residual rite of the institution of the principate. Augustus, according to Suetonius, asked on his deathbed if he had played his part on the stage of life well (*Aug.* 99.1). It is intriguing that Tiberius, a man notorious for practicing calculated *dissimulatio*, was incapable of taking over the role of his predecessor in this farce. As Southern states, “Tiberius was merely playing Augustus’ old game of reluctantly taking on the burden of Empire only after he had been asked to do so, but the main trouble was that Augustus did it better and was more plausible.”⁴¹ Was Tiberius a poor actor, or did the audience, having already seen the play, fail to be amused?

In the meeting(s) in which Tiberius and the Senate tried to establish the exact nature of his position, Tiberius proposed a division of powers. Many have seen this as a genuine overture on Tiberius’ behalf to return power to the Senate which had been usurped by Augustus.⁴² Maybe so, but it should be recognized that Augustus had made the same overtures in his refusal of power. Dio tells us (53.12) that when the Senate insisted Augustus remain in power in 27 B.C., Augustus divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial. Thus the tripartite division proposed by Tiberius of the armies, Italy, and the external provinces imitated that presented by his predecessor; for in Augustus’ division the imperial provinces would be those which contained strong armies.

Nonetheless, while Augustus had possessed the foresight to ensure his plans

⁴¹ *Augustus* 192.

⁴² On this division of powers see especially Kampff, “Three Senate Meetings” 29.

would be understood at his own staging of the *recusatio*, Tiberius was disappointed by his supporting cast. Asinius Gallus, unable or unwilling to act out the charade, asked the emperor which part he would take. Tiberius was forced to admit to the indivisibility of the empire. Finally, he asked for proconsular *imperium* for Germanicus in order to fill the position of assistant and successor which he was leaving vacant as he moved up the chain of command. Likewise he confirmed the authority of his own son, and the two young men became *adiutores imperii* in much the same way that Tiberius and the elder Drusus had been to Augustus.

Thus, the *recusatio imperii* inaugurated the reign of Tiberius as a continuation of the reign of Augustus. Tiberius followed the religious, ideological, and political policies of his predecessor to an exacting degree—but, of course, Tiberius was not Augustus. The charismatic *auctoritas* which Augustus had wielded over the people and was able to use to influence the Senate had to be maintained in order for stability to endure. Tiberius' systematic seizure of power and deification of his predecessor projected the image that Augustus was continuing to guide the empire from the heavens. Tiberius tried to give the impression that he was acting on the instructions of Augustus and following his example in order to maintain order and legitimate his own power in an unprecedented situation.

The *recusatio imperii* was a key component of this strategy.

C. Overview of study

Throughout his reign, Tiberius continued to use those same strategies which had helped him to achieve a peaceful succession. Whether he did so consciously, unconsciously, or subconsciously is not our concern. We shall examine not so much the motives of Tiberius' actions, although these will inevitably come into play, but rather the

presentation and the interpretation of those actions. For while charisma itself may be an interior quality, its power is based upon its exterior manifestations. Thus we shall systematically examine various iconographic aspects of Tiberius' principate to uncover the ways in which he utilized the charisma of Augustus to stabilize his power, and to what extent, not possessing charisma himself, he failed to manufacture a charismatic image of his own. Likewise, we shall see that Tiberius continued the policies of Augustus and foregrounded his continuation of them, while instituting new policies which were posthumously attributed to Augustus.

The second chapter will deal with the most conspicuous aspect of charismatic rule, the imperial cult. We shall begin by examining the importance of the image of a unified and charismatic *domus Augusta* in the reign of Tiberius, and the significance of the goddess Concordia in his regime. By way of comparison, we shall discuss the deification of Julius Caesar as a precedent for the deification of Augustus. Unlike Octavian, who allowed the worship of Divus Iulius to fade into the background once it had served his political purposes, Tiberius propagated the cult of Augustus throughout his reign. Moreover, Tiberius was reluctant to promote his own divine virtues under the guise of *genius* worship, although this was thrust upon him by those who viewed him as following the model of Augustus. As the inscription from Gytheion shows us, Tiberius historically expressed the same sentiments attributed to him by Tacitus in a speech given before the Senate in which he proclaimed that he wished his legacy to be *animis vestris templa* (*Ann.* 4.38). This refusal of divine honors echoes Maecenas' advice to Augustus in the fictional debate with Agrippa recounted by Dio over whether Augustus should lay down power after the end of the triumvirate. Maecenas states that for an honorable ruler,

the whole world (πᾶσα μὲν γῆ) will become his shrine (τεμήνισμα), and all the cities his temples (ναοί), and all men his statues (ἀγάλματα) (52.35.5). Although Dio's account of the debate in 27 B.C. is highly literary, it seems likely that Maecenas' advice was drawn from an Augustan decree declining divine honors for the living emperor. Nevertheless, throughout his lifetime, Augustus promoted indirect forms of worship which assured loyalty and stability to the ruler and his household. It was this foundation upon which Tiberius established the worship, not of himself, but of Augustus. The imperial cult under Tiberius flourished and became the justification not only for the foundation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, but more importantly, for the principate as an institution. Augustus' charisma was transferred through the imperial cult to the principate, and the worship of the goddess Roma with which the cult of the living Augustus had been associated was soon eclipsed by the cult of the new Divus.

The next chapter will examine Tiberius' self-portrayal in visual art and official documents as compared to the images of Augustus, as well as the portrayal of the *domus Augusta* as a family unit. Paul Zanker's landmark work *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* has done much to illuminate the spontaneous as well as calculated projections of imperial authority manifested in plastic art and coinage. When comparing portraits of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius in their prime, one cannot help but notice the resemblance not between Julius Caesar and Augustus who were related by blood, but rather that of Augustus and Tiberius who were completely unrelated biologically. Likewise, the connection between Gaius and Lucius, the grandsons/adopted sons of Augustus, and Tiberius endured long after the two young charismatic princes had died. In many ways Tiberian portraiture modeled itself on the poses and symbolism

portrayed in Augustan portraiture. Moreover, the coinage of Tiberius established a firm connection between the mints and issues of the previous reign, as well as advertising the values of the *domus Augusta*. Finally, epigraphic documents uncovered from the *senatus consulta* which dealt with the death of Germanicus demonstrate the continued importance of Augustus in promoting the unity of the imperial household and the state's dependence upon that *domus*.

Having examined the more overt forms of the routinization of Augustan charisma in religion and iconography, we shall complete our analysis by examining the policies whereby Tiberius preserved the stability of the Augustan settlement. According to Tacitus, Tiberius asserted that he was following the precedent of Augustus, *qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem* (*Ann.* 4.37). From the very beginning of his reign, Tiberius scrupulously maintained the Augustan facade of monarchy veiled in the guise of *res publica restituta*. Unfortunately for Tiberius, his Republican distaste for the role he had been forced to play showed through and placed an increasing strain on his relationship with the Senate, as is evident in the anxiety experienced in the last years of his reign. We shall examine Augustan foreign policy and the instructions left to Tiberius not to expand the empire. We shall also examine the change in voting procedures supposedly left by Augustus in his last instructions, and how Tiberius continued the use of voting centuries which were named after members of the imperial household as a charismatic device for manipulation of electoral procedures. Also we shall look at the ways both Augustus and Tiberius provided for the needs of the Roman *plebs*, the former while cultivating his own charisma, the latter preserving that of his predecessor.

Perhaps the most problematic issue in dealing with Tiberian adherence to

Augustan policies is Tiberius' conflicting desire to restore power to the Senate while conforming to Augustus' wishes for a hereditary principate. A key factor in the establishment of this new monarchy was the protection of the *maiestas* of the imperial family, and more importantly, that of Augustus. We shall see that Tiberius incurred a great deal of unpopularity due to the overly zealous prosecution of violations of his own *maiestas* by the delators seeking fame and fortune, even though the overwhelming majority of the indictments were dismissed. On the other hand, Tiberius did separate his own *maiestas* from that of Augustus, allowing for prosecution of slanders against the dead princeps, if not the living one.

Augustus, despite his disavowal of monarchy, was determined to leave his position to a member of his own family. Having adopted his grandsons by Agrippa, he was disappointed when the two youths died prematurely. When the exile Tiberius returned from Rhodes he could not have expected his accession to the throne to take place so definitively. Yet being the only surviving adult member of the *domus Augusta* with any political or military experience, the middle-aged Claudian found himself being adopted into the Julian *gens*. For ten years between his adoption in 4 A.D. and his accession in 14, Tiberius worked alongside Augustus in a position some have dubbed as co-regent.⁴³ There can be no doubt that the charismatic Augustus wielded the ultimate power, but one can also see in Suetonius and Dio that Augustus was increasingly wearied by the duties of state and willingly delegated duties to Tiberius and Germanicus, as well as Tiberius' son Drusus. In determining succession, moreover, Tiberius consistently preferred Germanicus to his own son, although poorly masking his distaste for such maneuvers. The dynastic scheme which Augustus had so carefully constructed failed,

⁴³ The idea of a co-regency is promoted especially by Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat*.

however, when palace intrigues eliminated the hereditary successors. When Tiberius was forced to look for help outside the imperial family, Sejanus insinuated himself. When the princeps found he could no longer trust his *adiutor*, he destroyed Sejanus at the height of his power, a warning to those outside the imperial household that no one outside the *domus Augusta* would be the next princeps. Despite his own misgivings about the character of his grandson, Tiberius nevertheless took care to provide for the peaceful succession of Caligula.

D. Review of sources and scholarship

The aftermath of Tiberius' reign and the subsequent reigns of Caligula and Claudius would have provided an environment conducive to historians hostile to the successor of Augustus. It is necessary to take this into account when dealing with the historical sources of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio. All of these men were writing significantly later than the events we will be discussing, and would have relied upon sources hostile to the man who persecuted the family of Germanicus. Whether Tiberius was responsible for what happened to Agrippina, Nero, and Drusus is not important in this respect. What is important here is recognition of the fact that Tiberius made no attempt to promote his own charisma, and was overshadowed by that of Augustus and Germanicus.

As a result, it will be necessary to supplement the sometimes conflicting accounts of the historians mentioned above with writers from the opposite end of the spectrum, those who were contemporary with this shift in power, and often adulatory as a result. Drawing on Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, and Ovid—all of whom have been unfairly accused of shameless toadying to the new and old regimes—, as well as Pliny the

Elder, the two Senecas, Strabo, Josephus, and other scattered references, we can try to reconstruct not necessarily Tiberius' behavior, but rather, the perception and interpretation of that behavior.

Recent studies on the primary historians of the reign of Tiberius will prove valuable in dealing with these issues. As for Velleius Paterculus, thanks to the hard work of A.J. Woodman, the contemporary historian of the age of Tiberius has been redeemed from his condemnation as a sycophant. This scholar's commentary on Velleius was followed by his collaboration with Martin on Books 3 and 4 of Tacitus' *Annals*. Likewise, Woodman's essays in *Tacitus Reviewed* help to shed light on the difficulties in reconciling fact with innuendo. Other commentaries on Tacitus such as Goodyear's on Books 1 and 2 of the *Annals*, as well as Martin's on Books 5 and 6, along with Koestermann's and Furneaux's, will be useful in this study. Also noteworthy are Walker's *Tacitus* and Borzsák's *RE* supplement. Finally, Ronald Syme's two-volume magnum opus *Tacitus* stands out as the most complete analysis of the author and his work.

Regarding Suetonius, while there are the monographic works of Wallace-Hadrill's *Suetonius: the Scholar and his Caesars* and Gascou's *Suetone*, unfortunately, aside from Lindsay's cursory Bristol Classical Press commentary, no up-to-date commentary on Suetonius' life of Tiberius exists. The only other attempt at a commentary solely on the life of Tiberius is that of Dufour and Rietra, pieced together and only partial in its content. There is also the concise epigraphic commentary of Holzhauser.

Less has been done regarding Cassius Dio. Aside from Fergus Millar's study,

there is also Manuwald's *Cassius Dio und Augustus*. Likewise, Meyer Reinhold's *From Republic to Principate* examines the Augustan books 49-52. No such similar examination exists for the Tiberian books.

Regarding all three authors there is Manfred Baar's revised dissertation *Das Bild des Kaisers Tiberius bei Tacitus, Sueton und Cassius Dio*. With regard to possibilities of shared and particular sources, see Questa's *Studi sulle fonti degli Annals di Tacito*.

With respect to other literary sources, there is Syme's *History in Ovid*, as well as Herbert-Brown's study of history in the *Fasti*. In the past year, Brill's *Companion to Ovid* and *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium* have added to the discussion of Ovid's relationship to Augustus and his household. A recent work by Burkhard Tautz examines the references to Augustus in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. There is also Martin Bloomer's *Valerius Maximus and the Rhetoric of the New Nobility*, as well as Mueller's *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus*.

In addition to these ancient historians, mention should also be made of recent discoveries in epigraphy which shed new light upon their accounts of the death of Germanicus. The *Tabula Hebana* had already begun to be examined earlier in the century when the *Tabula Siarensis* was discovered as a supplementary version of the same document. Both discuss the honors accorded to Germanicus upon his death and provide a basis for comparison with the historical account of Tacitus. These documents provided the basis for the discussions found in the collection of essays, *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis*. More controversial and influential than these decrees, however, is the recently published *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*, judiciously edited by Eck, Caballos, and Fernández. This document, which will be closely examined in chapter

three, presents the official version of the outcome of the trial of Piso, the man accused of murdering Germanicus. In comparison with Tacitus' account and on its own it says much concerning the self-presentation of Tiberius in an incredibly difficult political situation.

With regards to the *Res Gestae*, the editions of Mommsen, Gagé, Ramage, and Brunt and Moore explore various dimensions of this valuable and unique text. Also documents concerning the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius collected by Ehrenberg and Jones, as well as the more recent study by Géza Alföldy, provide a useful assemblage of citations from the *CIL*, *OGIS*, and other collections.

So much for primary sources. With respect to secondary scholarship, many biographies of Tiberius have been written, and written rather well by Baker, Marsh, Marañón, Ciaceri, Kornemann, Seager, and Levick. These scholars have all tried in different ways to find the underlying personal motivation for the actions of the misunderstood emperor. This study, on the other hand, seeks to explain a socio-political strategy employed for whatever reason, to establish a charismatic reign led by a uncharismatic ruler. Personal motivations, which are pure speculation anyway, will remain in the background. More important is the presentation and outcome of actions and policies.

Along with this self-presentation, it will be necessary to study how Tiberius systematized the imperial cult. Following the Augustan precedent and declining to accept honors for himself, nevertheless, he earnestly protected the sanctity of Augustus. Whatever personal devotion Tiberius may have felt for Augustus, his actions perpetuated the policy of denying worship to the living emperor and conferring it rather on the

charismatic founder of the dynasty. As background to the development of the cult under Augustus, we look to Weinstock's *Divus Julius*, Gesche's *Die Vergottung Caesars*, Taege's *Charisma*, and Mellor's *Thea Rhome*. One of the earliest studies on the imperial cult as it developed under Tiberius and Augustus, that of Étienne, who focuses on the cult in the Spanish provinces, was published around the same time as Cerfaux and Tondriau's comparison of the development of the imperial cult with the spread of Christianity. More recently Hanlein-Schafer has catalogued and analyzed the various temples of Augustus found throughout the Roman world. Fishwick has extensively dealt with the imperial cult in the western half of the Roman world, while Price has addressed the development of the cult in the east and its origins in Hellenistic ruler worship. Price, moreover, connects the important concept of charisma in the Weberian sense with the development of the worship of Augustus and later emperors. For more general treatments of the cult, along with Taylor's *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, should be mentioned the work of Andreas Alföldi, whose investigation into the divine honors ceded to the princeps looks at the way they reflect those used in Hellenistic monarchies. Lastly, we should mention Ittai Gradel's comprehensive study, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*.

Moving beyond the religious aspects of charismatic authority, major works have also focused on the imagery employed during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius and their continuity. In the field of numismatics, studies by Mattingly, Charlesworth, Grant, and Sutherland have done much to advance our understanding of the significance of imperial portraiture and imagery on coinage. As mentioned earlier, Zanker's book on the imagery employed by the Augustan regime highlights the themes which established his

rule as the first emperor and recurred throughout the reigns of his successors. Polacco's book on the portraiture of Tiberius illuminates the ways in which portraits of the Claudian emperor echo somewhat those of the Julian. Brian Rose's book on imperial portraiture likewise shows the attempt at expressing dynastic continuity through sculpture, as does the more recent study by Boschung on the *Gens Augustea*. In a more specific study, Kuttner's book on the Boscoreale cups has spurred new discussion regarding a controversial source of imperial propaganda.

Finally, we turn to the field in which perhaps the most literature has been produced, that of the legal and political aspects of Tiberius' reign which mirror or imitate those of Augustus. Among the most important studies on this phenomenon is Dieter Timpe's *Untersuchungen zur den Kontinuität des frühen Prinzipats*. Also important is Schrömbges' *Tiberius and die res publica romana*, which comes closest to the present study by examining the continuity, or at least the artificial appearance of continuity between the Republic, the reign of Augustus, and that of Tiberius. But Schrömbges seems to me to have only scratched the surface of the connections between Augustus and Tiberius.⁴⁴

Among investigations of the nature of the principate, the works of Jean Béranger stand out, as do those of Anton von Premerstein, Helmut Castritius, and Wilhelm Weber. More specifically focused upon the Augustan principate, Hammond's book examines the legal issues which became so important for handling succession. Likewise Syme's *Roman Revolution*, which changed Augustan studies forever, and his essays collected in the seven volume *Roman Papers*, shed much light on the nature of the early principate. In such prestigious company, one should not forget to include Mommsen's fundamental

⁴⁴ See review by Pani in *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 343-346.

study of Roman government, *Römisches Staatsrecht*.

Regarding the Roman laws of *maiestas*, the works of two scholars—Bauman and Rogers—stand unparalleled. When considering the key players in the contest for succession, mention should be made of Dieter Timpe's *Der Triumph des Germanicus* and Weingärtner's *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus*. Along with these studies should be mentioned the colloquium entitled *Germanico: la persona, la personalità, il personaggio*, and Gallotta's *Germanico*. Meise is essential for examining the roles played by the women involved in the struggle for succession. Regarding Sejanus, the study of Hennig provides an excellent discussion of this historically sinister figure.

E. Conclusion

It now seems appropriate to conclude with a few remarks on what makes this study different from the voluminous and prestigious works which precede it. First of all, while many have attempted to psychoanalyze Tiberius' motivations for imitating the policy of Augustus or have attempted to explain it as a hypocritical political maneuver, no one has yet examined the organic process which took place after the death of Augustus and its role in establishing the principate as an institution. By using Max Weber's definition of charisma to explain how an unpopular ruler can maintain power and establish a dynasty, we can see that Tiberius' accession was critical to the preservation of the system established by Augustus.

Moreover, his reluctance to promote his own image over that of Augustus set an ideological and iconographical precedent which even non Julio-Claudian emperors later adopted. Perhaps it might be appropriate here to recount that when the false Agrippa, Clemens, was brought to Tiberius, he was asked how he had turned himself into Agrippa.

The imposter's reply was a sharp, "*quo modo tu Caesar*" (*Ann.* 2.40). If we look a little more deeply at Tiberian dissimulation, we can see that not only did he misrepresent himself to the Senate, but he presented throughout the empire the image that Augustus as guide and protector was looking down upon the Roman world from the heavens. His constant reliance on Augustan precedent indicates his own awareness of the unpopularity which he would provoke by asserting his own authority. He was ultimately more successful in maintaining stability by exploitation of the charisma of his predecessor than through his own *gravitas* and *auctoritas*. As such, Tiberius firmly established the foundations of what became known as the Roman Empire.

Falling between the regimes of the charismatic Augustus and the mad Caligula, Tiberius' reign is often overlooked by non-specialists. Indeed, his retreat to Capri during the last years of his life indicates exactly how little he felt the need to impose himself on the Roman world. The combative relationship between the absent emperor and the Senate destroyed any hope Tiberius may have had of being remembered as a good emperor by later historians. Likewise, although the emperor provided for the basic needs of his people, his lack of charisma combined with his disinterest in courting popularity to arouse either apathy or hatred among the plebs. Nevertheless, the maintenance of stability, if nothing else, speaks for the fact that Tiberius knew enough about politics to stay in the shadow of Augustus even after the death of the charismatic leader. In doing so, he routinized the charisma of Augustus and set the precedent whereby future emperors would legitimate their rule through imitation, or professed imitation, of the first princeps.

Chapter 2

Tiberius and the Imperial Cult

As Simon Price recognized in his treatment of the imperial cult in Asia Minor, the institutionalization of the imperial cult was crucial to the consolidation of the position of princeps throughout the empire. Price noted how the imperial cult functioned within the scheme of Max Weber's theory of the routinization of charisma, stating:

The imperial cult succeeded brilliantly in solving the problem of Augustus' charismatic authority. The extraordinary significance accorded to the birth of Augustus was something uniquely personal and potentially evanescent. In its pure form charismatic authority is naturally unstable. It may not last the lifetime of its possessor and it certainly cannot be transmitted to his successor. The importance of rituals is that they can objectify and institutionalize this unstable form of charisma. Thus the sudden outburst of cults of Augustus helped to ensure the perpetuation of his personal authority.¹

In this chapter we shall examine the most fundamental aspect of the routinization of Augustan charisma, the establishment of the imperial cult.

While the ruler cult in the eastern areas of the Roman Empire may have had its origins in the Hellenistic ruler cult, the transmission of this concept to the western sphere of the empire, especially Rome, really took shape in the later years of Augustus' regime and the subsequent reign of Tiberius.² As such, it formed the basis for the authority which ensured stability. As Garnsey and Saller remark, "The imperial cult is important for its novelty, (eventual) ubiquity and its functions as a conveyor of imperial ideology, a focus of loyalty for the many, and a mechanism for the social advancement of the few."³ The foundations for this new version of the ruler cult lay in the worship of abstract values which could be attributed to the emperor, as well as the worship of his divine spirit or

¹ *Rituals and Power* 58.

² On the Hellenistic ruler cult as the basis for the imperial cult, see *ibid.* 23ff.

³ *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* 167.

numen. Under Tiberius, the worship of the deified Augustus provided stability for the new system of the principate and bestowed charismatic power upon the *domus Augusta*.

A. Concordia Augusta

When Tiberius returned in 7 B.C. from one of his many expeditions against the Germans, he vowed a temple to the goddess Concordia in his own name and that of his recently deceased brother Drusus.⁴ A temple to Concordia in Rome had already been dedicated on two separate occasions—once under Camillus, victor over the Gauls, in 367 B.C., and again by L. Opimius in 121 B.C. On both occasions the temple was vowed as a public display of resolved conflict between the patricians and the plebians. And yet, the dedication ascribed to Camillus could also be seen as a celebration of concord both domestically and abroad. It is in this context that we should examine our best testimony for the perception of Tiberius' dedication by a contemporary observer. Ovid, in his *Fasti*, commemorates the date of the dedication, January 16, in the following manner:

*Candida, te niveo posuit lux proxima templo,
qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus
nunc bene prospicies Latiam, Concordia, turbam,
†nunc †te sacratae constituere manus.
Furius antiquam, populi superator Etrusci,
voverat et voti solverat ille fidem.
causa, quod a patribus sumptis secesserat armis
volgus, et ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.
causa recens melior: passos Germania crines
porrigit auspiciis, dux venerande, tuis.
inde triumphatae libasti munera gentis
templaque fecisti, quam colis ipse, deae.
hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara,
sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis.*
(*Fasti* 1.637-650)

⁴ The primary study of this temple is that of Gasparri, *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*. Also Rebert and Marceau, "The temple of Concord in the Roman Forum," *MAAR* 5 (1925) 53-75. On the virtue of Concordia and its political significance, see Amit, "Concordia: Idéal politique et instrument de propagande," *Iura* 13 (1962) 133-169, and Levick, "Concordia at Rome," in *Scripta Nummaria Romana* 217-233. On the significance of Concordia for Tiberius' reign, see Schrömbges, *Tiberius* 50ff.

As Ovid makes clear, the reason for this vow was to celebrate the victory over the Germans (645-48). But as nothing is quite what it seems to be in Ovid's poetry, this passage provides the opportunity for some interesting observations on one of the most conspicuous religious acts undertaken by Tiberius during the lifetime of Augustus. The foreign triumph is presaged by the account of the origins of the temple, namely the struggle of the orders. That Tiberius would choose this particular deity for his vow, as opposed to say Pax or Victoria, cannot be overlooked and warrants explanation.⁵ The fact that his dead brother was included in the vow also seems striking. Finally, the mention of Livia at the conclusion of this passage, while causing commentators much distress regarding her role in the dedication of this temple, also provides a clue as to Tiberius' choice of patron deity.

First of all, despite his personal failings as an emperor, no one can deny that Tiberius was a master general.⁶ His successes on the German frontier stabilized the position of the Romans and secured the Pax Augusta. Likewise, his brother Drusus, whom we shall discuss in greater detail below, having achieved great military success in the Germanic provinces was awarded the heritable *cognomen* Germanicus. Their close relationship as brothers, as well as their importance to Augustan Victory was celebrated by Horace (*Odes* 4.4 and 4.14), and Tiberius' fraternal devotion led him to ride 200 miles non-stop to his brother's death bed.⁷ So the fact that Tiberius would choose to share his military glory with his deceased brother is not in itself all that surprising. What is

⁵ More will be said later (chapter 3) about Tiberian virtues in their manifestation on coinage, fine art, and dedications.

⁶ On Tiberius as "the ideal general," see Velleius 2.114.1-3 and Woodman, ad loc.

⁷ On this remarkable ride of Tiberius as related by Valerius Maximus (5.5.3), see Wardle, "The Heroism and Heroisation of Tiberius: Valerius Maximus and his Emperor," in *Hommages à Carl Deroux* 433ff. The story is also found in Pliny *NH* 7.84 and Dio 55.2.1.

striking, however, as mentioned above, is that the patron goddess of this victory is Concordia, a goddess usually associated with the restoration of internal peace.

In order to fully understand the implications of this vow, it perhaps serves to point out that after the death of Agrippa, Tiberius had been forced to marry the daughter of Augustus, thus becoming not only Augustus' stepson, but also his son-in-law. Furthermore, after the death of his brother Drusus, Tiberius was the only surviving adult member of the Augustan household. However, as Gaius and Lucius, the sons of Julia and Agrippa, and hence Tiberius' stepsons, came of age, their increasing popularity among the Roman people placed the decidedly uncharismatic Tiberius in an awkward position. This tension in the imperial household most likely provided the impetus for Tiberius' retreat to Rhodes.⁸

Be that as it may, Tiberius, while vowing the temple to Concordia, was certainly experiencing *discordia* within the imperial family. It is no secret that Tiberius and his wife Julia did not get along—a source of tension that perhaps led to his self-imposed exile.⁹ Some see the vow of a temple to Concordia as an attempt by Tiberius, or perhaps more cunningly Livia, to smooth over the discords or at least give the appearance of concord within the imperial family.¹⁰ As we shall discuss later, Livia dedicated some sort of shrine to Concordia within her own Porticus Liviae. Nevertheless, Tiberius left Rome in the following year and did not return for eight years. During that time the facade of *concordia* in the imperial family was ripped away by scandal and death.

⁸ Tiberius' retreat to Rhodes was probably the result of many different factors. The most thorough treatment of the subject is that of Levick, "Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes in 6 B.C.," *Latomus* 31 (1972) 779-813.

⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 10.

¹⁰ On this point see Richardson, "Concordia and Concordia Augusta: Rome and Pompeii," *PP* 31 (1978) 265ff.

The state of construction of the temple during Tiberius' absence cannot be known, but the fact that it was not dedicated until January 16, 10 A.D., six years after his adoption and restoration to the Augustan *domus*, perhaps indicates that the project was allowed to fall by the wayside during his absence.¹¹ It is worth noting, however, that on his way to Rhodes Tiberius acquired on Paros a statue of Vesta which he intended to place in the temple (Dio 55.9.6). Whether this indicates that Tiberius saw his sojourn abroad as a brief one cannot be determined, as is the case with the general situation surrounding Tiberius' "exile." But the extensive decoration of the temple surely indicates that Tiberius put a great deal of effort into the ornamentation of what would become "his" temple. As Fears puts it, "It was this Virtue, working in the sphere of Augustus' attitude towards Tiberius, which made possible Tiberius' position as heir apparent. Tiberius' subsequent attention to her cult suggests a deep sense of gratitude, perhaps a fulfillment of a vow to the goddess undertaken during his retirement."¹²

It is often remarked that in contrast to Augustus' claim to have restored eighty-two temples and then some (*RG* 6.20), Tiberius failed during his principate to live up to his predecessor. Nonetheless, the temple of Concordia possessed special significance throughout Tiberius' reign. The Elder Pliny's admiration years later attests that Tiberius' temple remained a remarkable specimen of architecture and an unparalleled statue

¹¹ On the date of dedication: *Fast. Praen.* Jan 16, *Imp. Caesar [Augustus est a]ppel[a]tus ipso VII et Agrip[pa] consulibus. Concordiae Au [gustae aedis dedicat]a P. Dolabella C. Silano co[(n)s(ulibus)]* (10 A.D.); *Fast. Ver.* Jan 16, *np. Fer(iae) [e]x s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod eo die aedis C[o]ncordiae in Foro dedic(ata) est.* Dio (Xiph.) 56.25.1 also dates the dedication to 10 A.D. Suetonius mentions the dedication with reference to Tiberius' victorious return from Germany in 12 A.D. (*Tib.* 20), but then Suetonius is not particularly concerned with chronological order.

¹² "The cult of virtues and Roman Imperial ideology," *ANRW* II.17.2. 892

gallery.¹³ The fact that the impetus for building it came under the rule of Augustus, however, speaks to the general theme of this study. Namely, that Tiberius took a virtue which was not specifically Augustan and appropriated it to enhance the public image of the *domus Augusta*. Thus Concordia Augusta within the imperial house remained important to Tiberius' presentation of himself as the successor of Augustus.

Along with this should be mentioned the inclusion in the dedication of the temple of Drusus, who, at the time of the dedication, had been dead for nineteen years. Likewise, in 6 A.D., Tiberius restored the temple of Castor in his name and that of his brother Drusus.¹⁴ Once again, Tiberius can be seen to be using the charisma of another to supplement his own lack of it. After the deaths of Gaius and Lucius and the subsequent banishment of their brother Agrippa Postumus, Drusus' son Germanicus became the new darling of the Roman people. Tiberius was compelled to adopt Germanicus in 4 A.D. as a condition of his own adoption by Augustus. The identification of Tiberius and Drusus as the Dioscuri, while not new to the post-adoption rhetoric of the late Augustan period, nevertheless received additional force from their association with the dedications of the temples of Castor and Concordia.¹⁵

The son of Tiberius himself was named Drusus and after a scuffle with Sejanus earned the nickname Castor, albeit for different reasons.¹⁶ And Drusus' twin sons surely evoked the image of the most famous *gemini*. Even in the Pseudo-Ovidian *Consolatio ad*

¹³ NH 34.73, 77, 80, 89, 90; 35.66, 131, 144; 36.196; 37.4. On the decoration of the temple see Kellum, "The city adorned: programmatic display at the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae*," in *Between Republic and Empire* 276-296.

¹⁴ On the dedicatory inscription and its significance, see Alföldy, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma* 39ff.

¹⁵ Val. Max. (5.5.3) remarks on the piety shown by Tiberius on Drusus' death, *his scio equidem nullum aliud quam Castoris et Pollucis specimen consanguineae caritatis convenienter adici posse*.

¹⁶ On this nickname, see Scott, "Drusus, nicknamed 'Castor'," *CP* 25 (1930) 155-161. See also below, chapter five, 321ff.

Liviam, dated sometime during the Julio-Claudian era, following an exhortation that Germany will pay for the death of Drusus (*At tibi ius veniae superest, Germania, nullum* 271), the poet exclaims, *Adice Ledaeos, concordia sidera, fratres / templaque Romano conspicienda foro* 283-284.¹⁷ Even in post-Tiberian times the temple of Concordia and the temple of Castor were associated with the image of the two brothers as the Dioscuri, and more importantly, linked Tiberius with the charismatic line of Drusus. The ultimate manifestation of brotherly *concordia*, while perhaps based on genuine affection, became an important image throughout the reign of Tiberius, and allowed the popularity of his successor Caligula, the grandson of Drusus, to overpower the common sense of the ruling elite at Rome until he was finally assassinated by his own guard.

Along with this aspect of domestic concord should also be mentioned the first part of the quotation by Ovid, namely the origins of the temple of Concordia, first built by Camillus after an episode of discord between the patricians and the plebs (637-644). While it may seem inevitable that Ovid would mention this in a discussion of Concordia at Rome, the figure of Camillus as the military avenger of Rome is preferred to the more recent history of the temple, i.e. the rebuilding by Opimius after the murder of the Gracchi brothers. While Ovid alludes to the more archaic struggles between the orders, he tactfully omits the more recent bloodshed of the Gracchi. Thus, Tiberius, like Camillus, is a well-intentioned victorious general who tries to achieve a balance between the ever battling orders.¹⁸ He is not, like Opimius, a butcher who cuts down dissenting elements. In line with Ovid's other somewhat panegyric poetry of Tiberius, who had

¹⁷ For the most recent discussion of this ongoing debate, see Schoonhoven, and the rejection of his dating by Gradel, *Emperor Worship* 269 n.13. Gradel supports the Augustan dating given by Fraschetti, "Come elogiare 'trasversalmente' il principe," in *Letteratura e Propaganda nell'occidente Latino da Augusto ai regni Romanobarbarici* 33-44.

¹⁸ On the associations of Tiberius with Camillus elsewhere, see Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues* 53.

ascended to the throne presumably before this passage was rewritten, the poet projects Tiberius as a ruler who will continue Augustus' agreeable relationship with the senatorial order.

Finally, the last two couplets of this entry on the temple of Concordia have generated much debate about Livia's role in the dedication. Ovid hails Tiberius as *dux venerande* and continues:

*inde triumphatae libasti munera gentis
templaque fecisti, quam colis ipse, deae.
hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara,
sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis.*
(*Fasti* 1.647-50)

In the passage as cited above, the preference of Alton's Teubner edition for *hanc* in line 649 has been accepted. This would refer to the goddess Concordia herself. Some see this pronoun as referring to a shrine within the Porticus Liviae dedicated to Concordia, separate from the temple built by Tiberius. Those arguing for this interpretation draw on the example of the complex dedicated by Eumachia in Pompeii which supposedly included a shrine to Concordia and was modeled on the Porticus Liviae.¹⁹ As we shall discuss below, the shrine dedicated by mother and son in Pompeii should be seen more as an indication of the connection between Livia and Tiberius as viewed by those outside of Rome than used as evidence for hypothetical structures in the capital. An alternative, however, has been posited by those who would read *haec* as the first word of line 649.²⁰ This would refer back to the temple itself. Some have taken this to mean that Livia was a

¹⁹ The unresolvable debate over the nature of Livia's *aedes* is exemplified by Flory, "Sic exempla parantur: Livia's shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae," *Historia* 33 (1984) 309ff., Simpson, "Livia and the constitution of the Aedes Concordiae. The evidence of Ovid *Fasti* I.637ff.," *Historia* 40 (1991) 449ff., and Richardson, "Concordia" 260ff. See also Bömer's commentary on Ovid's *Fasti* ad loc.

²⁰ Lenz's earlier Teubner accepts *haec*. See the app. crit. in Alton ad loc.

partner in the original vow made in 7 B.C., the same year in which the Porticus Liviae was dedicated by Tiberius and Livia.

What is perhaps more important with respect to the current discussion, however, is the prominence and praise bestowed on Livia in a passage celebrating a dedication by her son to Concordia. Later on in book 6 of the *Fasti*, Ovid celebrates the dedication of a shrine to Concordia in the Porticus Liviae with the lines:

*Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede
Livia, quam caro praestitit ipsa viro.*
(*Fasti* 6.637-38)

Here the context makes it clear that Ovid is referring to Livia's shrine, dedicated in honor of her husband who had demolished the mansion of Vedius Pollio and given it over to public use through the Porticus Liviae.²¹ Presuming that the first book of the *Fasti* was revised after Ovid's relegation, one must wonder if Ovid had revised the passage regarding Tiberius' dedication of the temple to Concordia after he had written the lines from book 6 addressed to Livia.²² If so, Ovid had already written the passage in which he commemorates Livia's dedication of her own shrine under the day on which it occurred, June 11. His addition of Livia to the Tiberian passage, if it is an addition, indicates Ovid's perception from exile of the necessity to emphasize the *concordia* of the imperial household.

Clearly Livia is associated with the dedications to Concordia for the same reason that Tiberius joined Drusus' name to his own in the vow and dedication of his temple celebrating the abstract deity. Namely, in order to secure the succession for a non-

²¹ On the significance of Livia's shrine, see Newlands, "Contesting Time and Space: *Fasti* 6.637-48," in *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at its Bimillennium* 225ff.

²² This theory that Ovid rewrote various parts of the *Fasti* to celebrate Concordia as Tiberius came to power is expanded upon by Fantham, "Ovid, Germanicus and the composition of the *Fasti*," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 5 (1985) 262ff.

charismatic ruler, the virtue of Concordia must be associated with other figures who were charismatic, such as Drusus, Livia, and most importantly Augustus. It is no coincidence that the dedication of the temple occurred on the anniversary of Augustus' assumption of his sacred *cognomen*.²³ Nor is it surprising that the day after the dedication, January 17, was the wedding anniversary of Augustus and Livia. Also, the 17th was the date of dedication for the hypothetical *ara numinis Augusti*.²⁴ The date of the dedication as well as the addition of the epithet Augusta to the deity Concordia, like its addition to so many other virtues, links the concord within the imperial house to the welfare of the state. But apart from other Augustan virtues which continue to echo throughout the principate, Concordia holds a special significance for Tiberius.

As Ovid has told us above, Concordia had long been associated with the resolution of internal struggles within Rome. During the Catilinarian conspiracy the Senate met in the temple of Concordia (Cic. *Cat.* III.21; Sall., *Cat.* 49.4). Julius Caesar had used the idea of a *concordia nova* in his iconography.²⁵ Likewise, after the death of Julius Caesar, Antony convened the Senate in the temple of Concordia, according to Cicero, transforming the temple into a prison (*Philippics* 2.7-8, 5.7). In the early years of the triumvirate, Concordia was stressed as the goddess protecting tenuous and treacherous alliance. Coins issued under Octavian himself advertise this triumphal *concordia*.²⁶ But in the aftermath of Actium, under the rule of one man *concordia* became less appropriate. Concordia, however, did re-emerge in 11 B.C. when Augustus

²³ Pace Levick, "Concordia" 224.

²⁴ Anniversary: *Fast. Verul. np. Ferae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod eo die Augusta nupsit divo Aug[us]t(o)*. Altar dedication: *Fast Praen. c(omitialis). Pontifices a[ugures] XVviri s(acris) f(aciundis) VII[vir(i)] epulonum victumas in[m]ola[n]t n[umini] Augusti ad aram q[uam] dedicavit Ti. Caesar. // Fe[riae] ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) q[uod] eo die Ti. Caesar aram divo] Aug(usto) patri dedicavit*. More on the *ara numinis Augusti* will follow below in the discussion of his deification (92ff.).

²⁵ See Weinstock, *DJ* 260-266.

²⁶ *RRC* 529.4a, 4b.

melted down statues of himself and erected a statue of Concordia along with statues of Janus, Salus, and Pax.²⁷ It should also be pointed out that this was the year after the death of Agrippa and the year in which Augustus compelled Tiberius to marry the widowed Julia. Thus a dedication to Concordia in an increasingly discordant *domus* typifies the stormy relationship which Tiberius would have with the goddess.

In the early years of his reign, Tiberius faced a number of difficulties in his attempt to establish power. We have already mentioned in the introduction to this study the mutinies which occurred in Pannonia and Germany as Tiberius assumed the position left vacant by the death of Augustus. But these mutinies were not the only troubles faced by the new princeps. In the year 16. A.D., a conspiracy which Tacitus would have us believe involved little more than an exaggerated affection for astrology, implicated Libo Drusus in the first of what would become many *maiestas* trials. We shall discuss the reality and significance of these proceedings later (chapter 5). But here let us point out that after the death of Libo, as Tacitus states, *dona Iovi, Marti, Concordiae, utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur, L. Piso et Gallus Asinius et Papius Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere* (*Ann.* 2.32). Jupiter and Mars were featured prominently in the iconography of the reign of Augustus. The inclusion of Concordia alongside these two deities, while not extraordinary, is significant.

After the fall of Sejanus, the Senate tried to demonstrate the restoration of order by meeting in the temple of Concordia. Epigraphic evidence has preserved some vows made on the behalf of Tiberius in this temple. Pekáry has tried to prove that it was after the conspiracy of Sejanus that these vows were made to Tiberius in celebration of his

²⁷ Ovid *Fasti* 3.881; Dio 54.35.2.

survival of the conspiracy.²⁸ Levick disputes these claims and asserts that the dedications are those mentioned by Tacitus after the conspiracy of Libo Drusus.²⁹ While Levick's argument seems more convincing, the date of the dedications is not as significant as the fact that in the wake of a senatorial conspiracy the dedications were made in the temple of Concordia. The discord between the patricians and plebians has been replaced by discord not only between princeps and Senate, but also within the *domus Augusta*. Libo had a claim to the bloodline of Augustus, and Sejanus was convicted supposedly for his designs against the children of Germanicus. Thus the struggle of the orders has been replaced by the struggle to succeed the emperor. This struggle ultimately destroyed the charismatic bloodline of Augustus when Nero, having killed off all his rivals, died his "artful" death in 69 A.D.

While *concordia* was not the only Tiberian virtue (indeed, as we shall see in chapter 3, Tiberius was most often known for his *moderatio* and *clementia*), it is the only virtue awarded its own altar and temple. Moreover, aside from an issue of *dupondii* in 22-23 A.D. featuring a round temple which could be a shrine to Divus Augustus but is more likely the temple of Vesta (Figure 2.1), it is the only temple which appears on Tiberian coinage.³⁰ It does not appear until 34 A.D., the twentieth anniversary of Tiberius' accession to the throne (Figure 2.2).³¹ As Pekáry points out, it is striking that unlike other coins bearing Tiberian virtues, on this *sestertius*, the temple is depicted, and

²⁸ "Tiberius und der Tempel der Concordia in Rom," *RM* 73-74 (1966-67) 105ff.

²⁹ "Concordia" 217ff.

³⁰ *BMCRE* Tib. 142. *RIC* I 74. See *BMCRE* cxxxix. The temple is flanked by a lamb and a calf, the typical sacrifices made to the deified Augustus according to Prudentius *Contra Symmachum* I.245-248. The temple has also been identified as the shrine to Vesta on the Palatine, based especially on the depiction of the vestals on the Sorrento base. See Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 49ff. and Fishwick, "Prudentius and the cult of Divus Augustus," *Historia* 39 (1990) 475-86.

³¹ *BMCRE* Tib. 116, 132, 133, 134; *RIC* I Tib. 55, 61, 67. For the identification of the temple as that of Concordia, see *BMCRE* I.cxxxviii.

not the title and image of Concordia.³² Thus, what is emphasized is the temple built under the auspices of Augustus, which proclaimed concord within the imperial household in those years when Tiberius was beginning to take over power from Augustus.

Grant best stresses the importance of this coin in his study of Roman anniversary issues. He notes that the issuance of a coin celebrating Concordia at this time coincides not only with the twentieth anniversary of Tiberius' *dies imperii*, but also the fiftieth anniversary of the Ludi Saeculares (assuming the coins to Concordia were commissioned in 33 A.D.).³³ Along with these coins were also issued a series depicting Divus Augustus Pater alongside the eagles and thunderbolts of the king of the gods. Thus twenty years after his death, the founder of the dynasty still remained the primary image for justification of the ruling regime. Grant goes on to mention the significance of this issue with reference to Tiberius' dedication of the temple to Concordia and the dedications to Concordia Augusta in the Tiberian period. He states, "Concordia also had a marked relevance to the *domus Augusta*—and an urgent one to Tiberius after the real or suspected disloyalties of so many of its members—and it is very noteworthy that hers are the attributes allotted by Caligula very shortly afterwards to his favoured sister Drusilla."³⁴

Finally, even outside the capital, the association between Tiberius and concord was exploited by provincials aiming at political promotion. We have already mentioned the Aedificium Eumachiae and its relationship to the Porticus Liviae, but let it serve as an

³² "Tiberius" 106, "In dieser eintönigen Münzprägung ist es um so auffallender, dass im Jahre 34 (trib. pot. XXXVI) ein Sesterz erscheint, dessen Rückseite den Tempel der Concordia darstellt, und dass dieser Typus bis zum Tod des Tiberius weitergeprägt wird. Dies deutet darauf, dass der Kaiser dieses Gebäude - und nicht nur die abstrakte Idee der Eintracht - besonders bevorzugte."

³³ *Roman Anniversary Issues* 43ff.

³⁴ Ibid. 54.

example of a provincial dedication to the goddess Concordia. The building bears a dedication which reads:

EVMACHIA L. F. SACERD. PVBL. NOMINE SVO ET//M. NVMISTRI
FRONTONIS FILI CHALCIDVM CRYPTAM PORTICVS
CONCORDIAE//AVGVSTAE PIETATI SVA PEQVNIA FECIT EADEMQVE
DEDICAVIT

(CIL 10.813)

As the inscription shows, the cryptoporticus was dedicated to Concordia Augusta and to Pietas. Richardson dates the building to no earlier than A.D. 2/3 when Eumachia's husband was duovir.³⁵ Franklin has taken this a step further to demonstrate that the building dates from late Augustan times, based upon the presence of a dedicatory plaque from a local magistrate. He concludes, "Its dedication, 'To Augustan Harmony and Respect,' reflects the political programs of Livia and Tiberius from 7 B.C. to A.D. 12, firmly tying Eumachia—who built it with her own funds and dedicated it in both her name and that of her son (N. Numistrius Fronto)—to Augustan times."³⁶ Franklin sees the gesture as an attempt by Eumachia to bolster the future political career of her son.³⁷ If this is the case, it seems particularly appropriate that the building was dedicated by mother and son, not only to Pietas, but to Concordia Augusta.

At the African colony of Thugga, an inscription dated sometime around the end of Tiberius' reign, and therefore roughly about the same time as the *sestertius* discussed above which depicts the temple of Concordia, reads:

*Imp(eratori) Ti(berio) Caesari A[ugusto sacr]um/curatore L(ucio) Vergilio
P(ublili) f(ilio) Ru[fo...].g. dato Viriae/P(ublili) f(iliae) Rusticae aviae M(arci)
Licini [Rufi flam(inis) perp(etui) Aug(usti) c(oloniae) C(oncordiae)] I(uliae)*

³⁵ *Pompeii: an architectural history* 197ff.

³⁶ *Pompeis Difficile Est* 33ff. On the importance of Augustan connections in municipal elections, see Castrén, *Ordo Populusque* 92ff.

³⁷ Apparently Eumachia's expense was in vain, as her son, "sadly disappears from the record after his mention in the inscription," *ibid.* 34.

*K(arthaginis)/M(arcus) Licinius M(arci) l(ibertus) Tyrannus patronus
pa[gi...ign]e consumptas/restituit aedem et statu[a]s corruptas exornavit opus
intestinu[m] refecit (?) curatore...P]riscillo f(ilio)
(AE 1969/70, 651=CIL VIII.26518=ILAfr 519)*

What is striking about this dedication of a *sacrum* to Tiberius and its restoration, besides the fact that the dedicatee's grandmother originally donated the temple of Caesar at Thugga, is that his wife had likewise dedicated a *sacrum* to Venus and Concordia.³⁸ Venus as the founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty would of course have special significance, especially since dedicatee was a woman. But if there was a shrine to Tiberius, why not a shrine to Julia Augusta (i.e. Livia)? If the dedication occurred in the last years of Tiberius' reign, subsequent to Livia's death and her disappearance from public imagery, then Concordia seems to be the perfect partner to Venus for a woman's display of allegiance to the emperor.

That Concordia should be emphasized at a period when Tiberius realized his own days were numbered and his popularity at an all time low, especially after the downfall of Sejanus and the financial crisis of 33 A.D., supports the view that Concordia was the most salutary veil to place over the tumultuous relationships within the imperial household. In the last few years of his reign, Tiberius had, at least according to the depiction of ancient historians, been transformed from a more or less adequate ruler, to a bloodthirsty tyrant. The importance of Concordia in trying to re-establish the facade of peace within the reign, therefore, should not seem out of place. An attempt to reconcile the discord between the princeps and the senatorial order was presented in iconography if not in reality. But more importantly, Tiberius was old and tired. The downfall of Sejanus left the question of succession uncomfortably unsettled. The emphasis on

³⁸ AE 1969/70, 650. On this connection and its usefulness to the dedicatees, see Rives, *Religion and Authority* 108.

Concordia Augusta when Caligula stood out as the successor by default was yet another attempt by Tiberius to renew the charismatic image of the *domus Augusta* as had been presented under Augustus, and to recall the bloodless transition made between the reign of his charismatic predecessor and his own.

B. Deification of one's predecessor

1. Augustus and Julius Caesar

Following the assassination of Julius Caesar, a power struggle erupted between the Senate, the conspirators, Mark Antony, Sextus Pompey, and an ambitious youth newly named C. Julius Caesar Octavianus.³⁹ That the ultimate survivor of this power struggle was the adopted son of the murdered dictator was not merely a result of his *fortuna* and *felicitas*. Octavian became Augustus to a certain extent through his manipulation of the charismatic image of his dead great-uncle. But Octavian, as is clearly shown by the carefully chosen words of praise showered upon him in Cicero's *Philippics*, had his own charismatic aura. And while Cicero may have thought he could use Caesar's heir against Antony, it was the orator who was bested at his own game by the charismatic Octavian. Nevertheless, in order to understand Tiberius' manipulation of Augustus' charisma, especially with respect to its manifestation in the ruler cult, it seems necessary to examine the behavior of the would-be heir to the *dictator perpetuus*.

It should come as no surprise that in the early years of the second triumvirate the charisma of Julius Caesar became a valuable tool. Mark Antony had been Caesar's right-hand man, and after his death had taken possession of Caesar's public and private documents. As the *Philippics* show, Antony manipulated access to these documents and

³⁹ Although Augustus himself wholeheartedly embraced the name C. Julius and not the name Octavian(us), it shall be used here for the sake of clarity.

used the image of the dictator to justify his own actions. Because Octavian was studying abroad at the time, he could make no claim to know the last words and acts of Julius Caesar. Indeed, as Taeger rightly notes, “Als Cäsars echter Erbe musste in mehr als einer Beziehung Antonius erscheinen.”⁴⁰ The battle between Antony and Octavian over control of the image of Julius Caesar became a major component of the struggle to fill the power vacuum left by his death.

Some have argued that Julius Caesar was deified within his own lifetime, while others claim that the acts which would have made Caesar a living god had been approved by the Senate but were not yet put into place.⁴¹ Regardless of the exact situation, which seems unrecoverable, it is clear that by the time Cicero was delivering his *Philippics*, Antony had been approved as the *flamen* of the divine Caesar. At the time of his death, no one can deny that Caesar had received honors which placed him beyond the human sphere. Cicero remarks to Antony, *Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens, tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius* (*Phil.* 2.43.1). And yet Caesar had not yet been formally deified. It would take two years from the time of his death for the state to proclaim him a god. Much was at stake in Caesar’s deification, and Antony’s deferment was due to more than just negligence. The deification of Caesar would make his heir the son of a god.⁴²

Although Octavian stood to gain the most from the acceptance of Caesar as a god, he was not the only one who wanted to see Caesar deified. Indeed, the intimations of

⁴⁰ *Charisma* II.89.

⁴¹ The most important study of Caesar's divinity is Gesche's *Die Vergottung Caesars*, which argues that the plans to deify Caesar carried out after his death were already in place before his murder. A thorough review is given by Alföldi in *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 166-176.

⁴² On the struggle over Julius Caesar's image, see Alföldi, *Octavians Aufstieg zur Macht*.

deification of the living Caesar show that there was tremendous popular support for such a move. Following the death of Caesar it could be said that the people more so than Octavian made Caesar a god. The funeral of Caesar and its subsequent chaos, as mentioned in the introduction, proved the usefulness of public disorder for the cause of Octavian. Although this mass hysteria was instigated by Antony, it was later manipulated by Octavian for his own ends. Yet others tried to exploit this popular movement for their own advantage as well. The false Marius led the people in erecting a memorial column where Caesar had been cremated in the forum, which was soon destroyed by Dolabella.⁴³ Cicero's praise of Dolabella's act (*Phil.* 1.2.6), however, proved useless, as the column was replaced by an altar, and ultimately by the temple to Divus Julius.

In the ensuing months, as Antony attempted to block Octavian from using the image of Caesar, preventing him from displaying the curule chair and crown voted to Caesar by the Senate, Octavian endeavored to raise private funds to pay the legacies of his father's will. Foiled by Antony in using the money left to him by Caesar, Octavian liquidated his own assets and borrowed heavily to pay the legacies and to host the games to Victoria Caesaris, which would also serve as funeral games for the late Caesar.⁴⁴ The funeral games hosted by Octavian served as the final weight to tip the scales in his favor as the true successor of Caesar when the appearance of a comet during these games was perceived by the masses as the soul of the recently cremated Julius rising to heaven.⁴⁵

⁴³ On the monument see Suet. *Jul.* 85, Dio 44.51 and next note.

⁴⁴ On this struggle see Appian *B.C.* 3.9ff. On the conflation of these games with the Ludi Veneris Genetricis, see Ramsey and Licht, *The Comet of 44 B.C.* 2ff.

⁴⁵ The most definitive study of this celestial phenomenon is that of Ramsey and Licht.

The idea of men's souls ascending to the upper atmosphere was well-established as a part of Stoic doctrine, most notably in Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*.⁴⁶ Although, as we shall see, the *sidus Iulium* later took on another meaning and was seen as the inauguration of a new golden age, in the early years of Octavian's rise to power, it served other purposes. The star of Caesar was quickly appropriated to justify Octavian's position as the *divi filius*. He placed stars on both coins and statuary, as well as minting coins with legends promoting his new status.⁴⁷ As Alföldi notes, in the summer of 43 B.C., after the funeral games, but before the formal act of deification by the Senate, coins were minted for Octavian displaying his own head and that of Caesar with the legends DIVI IVLI and DIVI IVLI F. According to Alföldi, "This documentary evidence proves exclusively that Octavian did not wait for Antony to assume the office of *flamen* to the new god, nor did he wait until 42, when new decrees would make Caesar's divinity legal."⁴⁸

While Caesar the god was a powerful weapon of propaganda, Caesar the dictator was an albatross around his successor's neck. As Ramage has shown, even in the early years before Actium, Octavian was careful to distinguish between Julius Caesar the divine father and Julius Caesar the murdered despot. When Octavian did present the aspect of a Julius Caesar who aimed at tyrannical monarchy, it was in distinct opposition to his own image as the restorer of the Republic. As Ramage notes regarding a coin of 43 B.C. which depicted Octavian bare-headed on one side with the legend C. CAESAR COS PONT AUG, and Julius Caesar crowned on the reverse with the legend C. CAESAR DICT PERP PONT MAX (Figure 2.3), "Octavian uses this coin to drive a wedge

⁴⁶ On this idea among the Roman nobility, see especially Luck, "*Studia divina in vita humana: On Cicero's 'Dream of Scipio' and its place in Graeco-Roman philosophy*," *HThR* 49 (1956) 207-218.

⁴⁷ On this exploitation of the *sidus Iulium* in coinage and statuary, see Weinstock, *DJ* 364ff.

⁴⁸ Rev. of Gesche 173.

between himself and Caesar in yet another way, inasmuch as he is bareheaded and dictator wears the golden crown of kingship. The adopted son, then, shows no pretensions to triumph and absolute power, while his father reveals yet another sign of tyranny.”⁴⁹

Indeed in his struggle with Octavian for ultimate power, it proved Antony’s undoing that he, like Caesar, aimed to establish a Hellenistic monarchy.⁵⁰ There can be no denying that the ultimate downfall of Antony was brought about through his association with Cleopatra, in addition to his blatant disregard for Roman religious scruples. Displaying himself throughout his Asian realm as the new Dionysus, he and Cleopatra became the reincarnation of Osiris and Isis. Nor did it help his public image at Rome that he named the twins born to them Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene. Octavian’s careful rejection of the association with the eastern monarchy which had destroyed Caesar as well as Antony, combined with his own careful observation of *mos maiorum*, provided the policy by which he would accept or reject divine honors for himself and his family throughout his reign. The aftermath of Actium proved once and for all that the Romans would not tolerate a divine monarchy modeled on the Hellenistic east. In establishing himself as an absolute ruler, Octavian had to rewrite the rules regarding the relationship between the princeps and the gods.

Subsequently, especially after Actium, the image of Caesar became increasingly difficult to reconcile with this new program.⁵¹ Writers such as Livy, Horace, Propertius,

⁴⁹ “Augustus’ treatment of Julius Caesar,” *Historia* 34 (1985) 224-225.

⁵⁰ On the propaganda war waged by Octavian and Anthony see Scott, “The political propaganda of 44-30 B.C.,” *MAAR* 11 (1933) 7-49, as well as Zanker, *The Power of Images* 33ff.

⁵¹ The background into the study of this phenomenon, and especially the leadership of Syme in proclaiming the unpopularity of Julius Caesar in Augustan Rome can be found in White, “Julius Caesar in Augustan Rome,” *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 334-356, and Kienast, “Augustus und Caesar,” *Chiron* 31 (2001) 1-26. Both of these scholars try to refute the notion that Augustus distanced himself from Caesar, but their arguments do

and Ovid found it easier to avoid his name altogether or emphasized his importance as the man who gave the world Augustus. Likewise, the images of Pompey and Cato were increasingly romanticized as can ultimately be seen in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. As Augustus became more established in his own charismatic power, he relied less and less upon the image of Julius Caesar. Furthermore, in the years following Actium, the image of Caesar disappeared from coinage to be replaced by Augustan values and Augustan imagery.

Indeed, perhaps the best examples of this distancing of the newly-dubbed Augustus from Julius Caesar appear on his coinage. Coins demonstrate the closest manifestation of the official policy extant from antiquity, because while perhaps not directly minted by the regime, they surely could not have been minted without imperial approval.⁵² The disappearance of Julius Caesar in coins after 27 B.C. is striking considering his appeal before the downfall of Antony. Coins depicting Divus Julius recur again only in celebration of the Ludi Saeculares of 17 B.C. It is significant that these coins display not Caesar himself, but Caesar's star with the inscription DIVVS IVLIVS (Figure 2.4).⁵³ Another series of coins issued at Rome with the obverse legend AVGVST*DI VI*F*LVDOS*SAE depicts a herald announcing the games and bearing the star on his shield and staff (Figure 2.5).⁵⁴ The reverse displays the youthful head of Julius Caesar with the star over it. These coins mark the appropriation of the *sidus Iulium* from representation of the soul of Divus Julius ascending to heaven to that of the comet

not address the issue we are facing here, namely, separating Divus from Iulius, nor do they compare the deification of Caesar with that of Augustus. For a study of various treatments of Caesar throughout the principate see Donié, *Untersuchungen zum Caesarbild in der römischen Kaiserzeit*.

⁵² On the choice of images for coins, see most recently Ando, *Imperial Ideology* 215ff.

⁵³ *BMCRE* Aug. 323-328, *RIC* Aug. 37-38, 102.

⁵⁴ *BMCRE* Aug. 69-70, *RIC* Aug. 339-40; same reverse but with head of Augustus and legend AVGVSTVS DIVI F., *BMCRE* 71-73, *RIC* 337-338.

signifying the dawn of a new Golden Age. As Weinstock remarks, “This was the first time that the comet took the place of the star on such coins. It can only mean a revised version of the prophecy of Vulcanius: in 44 as well as in 17 the comet announced the beginning of a new *saeculum*. What Caesar should have initiated had now become a reality under Augustus and was celebrated in that year.”⁵⁵

Some have even gone so far as to argue that this youthful head is not Divus Julius, but rather the embodiment of this *novum saeculum*. Aline Abaecherli Boyce has argued that the comet and the youthful head embody the fulfillment of the promise made by Vergil’s fourth *Eclogue*. She posits, “It is then possible that the cometed head represented something more than an ancestor of the Julian House, more than Divus Julius, more than Augustus seeking deification. Unidentifiable as this young cometed bust seems, may it not be the New Age itself, the *Saeculum*, or to put it in characteristic Roman terms, the *Genius* of the Ludi Saeculares, phenomenally brought into being by the appearance of a comet in the year of the festival?”⁵⁶ While Boyce’s conjecture may be impossible to prove, the ambiguity expressed in identifying this figure with Divus Julius demonstrates that it was more the *divus* than the Julius that was being promoted in the time of Augustus.

Before leaving the subject of Augustus’ treatment of Julius Caesar in his coinage, mention should be made of one other coin which has been the source of a continuing and probably unresolvable controversy. A coin dating from the issue of L. Lentulus depicts Augustus resting on the *clipeus virtutis* and placing a star over the head of a half-clad

⁵⁵ *DJ* 379. The prophecy of Vulcanius comes from Servius on Vergil’s *Eclogue* 9.47. Vulcanius prophesied the comet as marking the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth age of the world. Lending further credence to his prophecy, he dropped dead immediately after uttering it. See below for further discussion of this passage.

⁵⁶ *Festal and Dated Coins* 6-7.

figure who is holding a victoriola and a spear (Figure 2.6).⁵⁷ The legend reads L. LENTVLVS FLAMEN MARTIALIS, so there is no direct indication who is being deified. In the most recent edition of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, the figure is tentatively identified as Julius Caesar. However, the year of the coin's issue has led some to believe otherwise. Mattingly identifies the deified figure as Agrippa, seeing as the coin was minted in 12 B.C., the year of his death. Mattingly argues, "L. Lentulus's solitary type shows us Augustus crowning a statue of Agrippa (not Julius Caesar). The star suggests of course divinity, but is not unsuitable for the illustrious dead, even when not deified."⁵⁸ He also points out that Dio cites a comet as appearing in 12 B.C., the year of Agrippa's death (54.29.8). Dio also recounts that Agrippa's funeral was conducted in the same manner as that of Augustus 26 years later, and that Augustus had Agrippa buried in his own mausoleum (54.28.5). Moreover, the victoriola in the figure's right hand would be particularly suitable as a tribute to the general who had orchestrated Augustus' greatest triumphs.

Thus the evidence suggests that the figure depicted is Agrippa and not Julius Caesar. The reappearance of Agrippa on coins towards the end of Tiberius' reign and throughout the reign of Caligula indicates his continued popularity long after his death despite his humble origins.⁵⁹ Divus Julius, by comparison never appears on a Tiberian coin. If the image being deified on the coin is Julius Caesar, it is the act of deification which is being specifically foregrounded. But Divus Julius rode to heaven on his own star. However, Agrippa, having no divine status of his own would need an added boost

⁵⁷ *RIC* Aug. 415.

⁵⁸ *BMCRE* cvii. The identification with Agrippa is also promoted by Taylor, *Divinity* 196-197.

⁵⁹ Sutherland (*RIC* p. 89) dates these coins to 37-41 and does not include them among the coinage of Tiberius, but admits that a late Tiberian date is possible.

towards the heavens. This attribution of divinity to Agrippa would of course prove politically advantageous to the two sons (and the one not yet born) left behind and designated as successors to Augustus. Yet even if we were to accept this identification as Julius Caesar, that still leaves us with only a single issue, aside from the coins minted for the Ludi Saeculares, in which Divus Julius was advertised during the reign of Augustus. We shall shortly see the tremendous contrast with the treatment accorded Augustus in Tiberian coinage.

It is not only the coinage which can help us to reconstruct the attitude towards Julius Caesar at the high point of the reign of Augustus. The words and policies of Augustus himself can also be useful. In a passage from the Pliny the Elder, Augustus himself is seen as having appropriated the comet of Caesar for the birth of his own *saeculum*. According to Pliny:

Cometes in uno totius orbis loco colitur in templo Romae, admodum faustus divo Augusto iudicatus ab ipso, qui incipiente eo apparuit ludis quos faciebat Veneri Genetrici non multo post obitum patris Caesaris in collegio ab eo instituto. namque his verbis id gaudium prodit: "Iis ipsis ludorum meorum diebus sidus crinitum per septem dies in regione caeli quae sub septentrionibus est conspectum est. id oriebatur circa undecimam horam diei clarumque et omnibus e terris conspicuum fuit. eo sidere significari vulgus credidit Caesaris animam inter deorum immortalium numina receptam, quo nomine id insigne simulacro capitis eius, quod mox in foro consecravimus, adiectum est." haec ille in publicum: interiore gaudio sibi illum natum seque in eo nasci interpretatus est; et, si verum fatemur, salutare id terris fuit. (NH 2.93-94)

The phrase *his verbis* and the switch to first person indicate that Pliny is probably quoting from the memoirs of Augustus. If this is so, the words of Augustus himself betray his Machiavellian use of the common people's belief that the comet was the spirit of Divus Julius ascending to heaven. Moreover, the contrast between his public actions at the time shortly after the appearance of the comet and his private feelings about its significance

reflect what we have seen exhibited in Augustan ideology, namely the appropriation of the *sidus Iulium* for the new golden age of Augustus.⁶⁰

Also said to be recorded in the memoirs of Augustus was a prophecy made by a haruspex named Vulcanius which is reported in Servius' commentary on Vergil's ninth *Eclogue*. On the phrase *ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum* (9.47), Servius comments that Baebius Macer recorded the comet and that the young Caesar (Octavian) promoted this as the soul of his father rising to heaven, for which he dedicated a statue with a golden star on its head. But countering the claim that the star was the soul of Divus Julius, a haruspex named Vulcanius came forth and said that it was a comet which signified the end of the ninth *saeculum* and the beginning of the tenth. He immediately proved the worth of his prophecy by dropping dead for having revealed the secrets of the gods. Perhaps the most important part of this anecdote, however, is the fact that, *Hoc etiam Augustus in libro secundo De memoria vitae suae complexus est*. Clearly Augustus, writing his memoirs years after the appearance of this *sidus*, decided to embrace it as a comet prophesying his own greatness.⁶¹

Aside from the testimony related by Pliny and Servius, the public statement made by Augustus to be exhibited on his tomb and distributed throughout the empire epitomizes what Augustus wanted to present as his *Res Gestae*. According to Ramage, "But it is Augustus himself in his *Res Gestae* who gives clearest evidence of this anti-Caesarian feeling."⁶² Ramage goes on to say, "One of the most interesting features of the *Res Gestae* is the way in which Caesar is handled. Though he is referred to six times, he

⁶⁰ For a thorough, if somewhat pedantic, examination of this passage, see Tautz, *Das Bild des Kaisers Augustus* 131ff.

⁶¹ For a discussion of this passage see Ramsey and Licht, *The Comet* 142-143.

⁶² *Historia* 34 (1985) 226ff.

is named only twice and then only in his deified state in connection with his temple (*RG* 19: *aedem divi Iuli*; *RG* 21: *in aede divi Iu[l]i*). Elsewhere, Augustus calls him ‘my parent’ and ‘my father.’ It should also be noticed that whenever he appears, some action of Augustus is being described.”⁶³

Now while it is not surprising that the deeds of Augustus overshadow those of his father in this account, it is striking that Caesar’s image is so downplayed. Even Peter White, who attempts to refute the long-established tradition defended by Syme that Augustus manipulated and then abandoned the image of Julius Caesar counters, “Obviously Caesar emerges as little more than a foil to Augustus here, but it would be a mistake to see this presentation as a designedly anti-Caesarian slant.”⁶⁴ But even White is forced to concede, “Whereas in the next reign Tiberius regularly professed to be carrying on the legacy of Augustus, we rarely hear of Augustus invoking Caesar’s policies.”⁶⁵

Indeed, the only time that Augustus invoked Caesar as a precedent was towards the end of his reign and to justify an unpopular tax. In 6 A.D. when Augustus was trying to replenish the military *aerarium*, he first made a donation in his own name and that of Tiberius. When that failed to raise sufficient revenues, he invoked an inheritance tax of five per cent which had been laid down by the acts of Caesar and which the Senate had sworn to uphold after his death (Dio 55.25.6). That Augustus would pawn this unpopular tax off on the memory of the long-dead dictator is significant. Not wanting to damage his own charisma in the years when he surely realized he would be succeeded by the

⁶³ Ibid. 230.

⁶⁴ *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 341.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 340 n.21.

uncharismatic Tiberius, Augustus shifted the blame towards the past and away from the future.

One other point should be made here. In the later manifestations of the imperial loyalty oath, the series of divine powers invoked begins with Augustus. That is to say that the oath mentioned above which was sworn after Caesar's death to protect his acts was forgotten (except when politically advantageous), and superseded by an oath to uphold the acts of Augustus. As Lily Ross Taylor remarks with regards to the oath taken by the Paphlagonians to Augustus and the *domus Augusta*, "Even Roman citizens took oath by the emperor and apparently went with the natives to the altars of Augustus at the temples in each city to swear their allegiance. There is no word of the cult of the deified Julius for whose worship with Roma Octavian had granted permission to Roman citizens in Asia and Bithynia in the year 29. That cult of the deified Julius seems in fact to have left no traces in our records."⁶⁶

Finally, one must mention that the distinctive appearance of the *flamen Julialis* among the *flamines* surrounding Augustus on the Ara Pacis is probably due not so much to the fact that he is the *flamen Julialis*, but that he is a member of the imperial household. Torelli identifies the *flamen Julialis* as the third *flamen* in the series of priests following Augustus. Thus, the *flamen Julialis* is not even located next to Augustus, but is mingled in among the other priests. Moreover, his well-defined features and high relief are more likely due to the fact that the *flamen Julialis* at the time of the dedication of the Ara Pacis was Sextus Appuleius, the husband of Octavia *maior*, the half-sister of Augustus, than the importance of the priesthood of Divus Iulius. As Torelli notes,

⁶⁶ *Divinity* 207.

Appuleius was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus, commemorating his importance to the *domus Augusta*.⁶⁷

While scholars in recent years have tended to address the issue of Augustan propaganda and its influence on Augustan poetry more cautiously, nevertheless, it must be admitted that the inspiration of the princeps must have directed the poets in their treatment of Julius Caesar.⁶⁸ Vergil neglects him almost entirely, and displays him rather as the father of Augustus or as the originator of the civil wars which ripped Rome apart before Augustus restored peace.⁶⁹ Horace likewise treats Caesar as the deified father of the princeps and not the all-too-human dictator. But perhaps the most accurate indication of Augustus' attitude towards the image of Caesar can be seen in the later poetry of Ovid.

While Ovid's youth may have been spent flouting Augustan values, his years in exile demonstrate the poet's awareness that these values were not to be flouted. Ovid's poetry from exile has been examined with respect to the shift in the poet's attitude towards the *domus divina*.⁷⁰ As Ovid attempted to recover his status in Roman society, or at least the right to return to Rome, he trod more cautiously upon the path towards the palace.⁷¹ Thus it seems fitting to examine Ovid's treatment of Julius Caesar in the conclusion of the *Metamorphoses*, and what it can tell us with regards to official policy. The final act of the *Metamorphoses* depicts the apotheosis of Caesar under the auspices of Augustus. Presumably written just prior to his exile, regarded as unfinished by the author, the *Metamorphoses* develops the playfulness Ovid exhibited in his earlier poetry

⁶⁷ *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* 47.

⁶⁸ For the subtleties of censorship and propaganda in Augustan Rome see Griffin, "Augustus and the poets: 'Caesar qui cogere potest,'" in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* 189-218.

⁶⁹ On Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* as appropriating the *sidus Iulium* for the *saeculum* of Augustus, see Wagenvoort, *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* 1ff.

⁷⁰ See especially Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile* and Williams, "Ovid's Exilic Poetry: Worlds Apart," in *Brill's Companion to Ovid* 337-381.

⁷¹ We shall deal with the nature and cause of Ovid's condemnation to the Black Sea in chapter 5.

with a more serious examination of Roman mythology. That the poem should end with the apotheosis of Caesar, the culmination of all previous transformations, is significant. The other transformations described by Ovid are based on myth and legend. But Julius Caesar had only recently been added to the Roman pantheon. The account of his deification, following the narration of the establishment of the cult of Aesculapius in Rome, begins as follows:

*Hic tamen accessit delubris advena nostris:
Caesar in urbe sua deus est; quem Marte togaque
praecipuum non bella magis finita triumphis
resque domi gestae properataque gloria rerum
in sidus vertere novum stellamque comantem,
quam sua progenies; neque enim de Caesaris actis
ullum maius opus quam quod pater exstitit huius. (Met. 15.745-751)*

Ovid goes on to recount that the military victories won by Caesar as a general are insignificant compared to his position as the *pater* of a *divi filius*. Ovid exclaims, *ne foret his igitur mortali semine cretus, / ille deus faciendus erat* (Met. 15.760-761). However the image of the divine Julius had been used in the earlier years of Octavian's reign, just like the coins celebrating the secular games did ten years before, Ovid makes it clear that in the year 7 A.D. it is the *filius* and not the *pater* who matters.

Ovid completes the apotheosis by having Venus take the soul of Julius and carry it up to the heavens in the *sidus Iulium*. Once Caesar is firmly placed in the heavens, he *natique videns bene facta fatetur / esse suis maiora et vinci gaudet ab illo* (Met. 850-851). Ovid finishes his account with a wish for Augustus' own deification after a long and productive life. He prays to Apollo, Vesta, Jupiter, and all the other gods, *tarda sit illa dies et nostro senior aevo, / qua caput Augustum, quem temperat, orbe relicto / accedat caelo faveatque precantibus absens!* (15.868-870).

During his years in exile, there can be no doubt that Ovid was desperately trying to re-establish himself in the good graces of the imperial household.⁷² Therefore, the poetry written in this context, while perhaps not the best indicator of the exact goings on at Rome, at least reflects what a former member of the Roman nobility perceived to be the desired image of the imperial family. As Fergus Millar has stated:

In some ways his poetic recreations of these distant events, happening in an urban context which is intensely familiar, are actually more important for the historian than mere eyewitness accounts. For, first, they are the work of an extremely well placed loyalist (or author of loyalist expressions), whose writing from after his exile shows profound continuities, in general and in detail, with that from the years before it. And second, by being compelled to re-imagine what was occurring in Rome he confers on it a generic significance which a mere report might lack.⁷³

Perhaps the most important work for the purposes of examining this phenomenon is the *Fasti*. A recent study by Geraldine Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti*, offers a critical examination of this work, focusing especially on its importance for reconstructing the political atmosphere at the time it was being written. Picking up where Syme left off in his study of *History in Ovid*, Herbert-Brown in *Ovid and the Fasti: an historical study* treats separately the key figures one would find or expect to find in this poem dated to the period around and after Ovid's relegation. While firm dates cannot be established, it is clear that part of the poem was written before the death of Augustus and then revised when Tiberius came to power.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it serves to show how the image of Julius Caesar was viewed by the end of Augustus' reign.

⁷² On the relationship between Augustus and Ovid and its manifestation in Ovid's poetry, see Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince*, where he argues that Ovid as an Augustan poet could react both for and against the regime simultaneously. See also Ahl, "The art of safe criticism in Greece and Rome," *AJP* 105 (1984) 174-208 for a more general treatment of the problematic relationship between panegyric and criticism.

⁷³ "Ovid and the *domus Augusta*: Rome seen from Tomoi," *JRS* 83 (1993) 10.

⁷⁴ On the nature of these revisions see Fantham, "Ovid" 243ff.

In her chapter on Julius Caesar in the *Fasti*, Herbert-Brown takes pains to rebut Peter White's rejection of the assumption Julius Caesar fell out of favor throughout the reign of Augustus. I agree with Herbert-Brown that White's article is too often concessive to be persuasive. In other words, while he claims his opponents cannot prove their point, he certainly cannot prove his own, and is left with a pair of conjectures that either "Caesar's installation as a god in heaven is a token of Roman supremacy in the world" or "As for Augustus' personal interest in Caesar's cult, I would suggest that he regarded it as a maquette which he had liberty and time to shape in preparation for his own apotheosis."⁷⁵ Neither of these explanations, however, is satisfactory in explaining the treatment of Julius Caesar in the reign of Augustus.

Ovid's *Fasti* covers in its surviving portions the first six months of the year. During this time period from January to June, in the extant calendars listing the *fasti* of the Roman year, as Herbert-Brown notes, Caesar had three *feriae* in his honor—his victories in Spain and at Alexandria (March 17), his defeat of King Juba at Thapsus (April 6), and his birthday (July 12). Only one is mentioned by Ovid. Under his treatment of the Megalensian games in April, Ovid mentions an exchange with a veteran who was with Caesar at Thapsus in 46 B.C. The veteran stresses that he fought against Juba with Caesar as his general (*dux mihi Caesar erat* 4.381). No mention is made of the divine Caesar. He is merely an old veteran's former commanding officer. Indeed, as Herbert-Brown points out, that the veteran is spending a day dedicated to Julius Caesar at the Megalensian games indicates that the meaning of this particular day has been

⁷⁵ "Julius Caesar" 355.

overshadowed by Augustus' games.⁷⁶ She summarizes her interpretation of the passage as follows:

The fact that Ovid chose to place Julius' war veteran at the Megalesia thus serves three aims: first, to reinforce the impression of respectability and Romanness of the cult; second, to draw a contrast between a generation of war in the past under Caesar, and a generation of peace in the present under Augustus; third, to insinuate artfully the primacy of this new 'Augustan' festival of the 'Ludi Matri deum Magnae Ideae' (*Fasti Praenestini* 4 April) over the celebration of the Julian NP day on 6 April.⁷⁷

Ovid's belittlement of Julius Caesar and his divine status continues throughout the *Fasti*.

In recounting the deification of Romulus, Ovid quips, *caelestem fecit te pater, ille patrem* (2.144). The fact that Augustus was responsible for the deification of Caesar, "deprives Julius of any credit for his deification."⁷⁸

The deification of Caesar recounted in the *Metamorphoses* and dealt with above is rewritten in Ovid's treatment in the *Fasti* of the Ides of March. Ovid deals with this important day in the following manner:

*Praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos,
cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focis:
'ne dubita meminisse: meus fuit ille sacerdos;
sacrilegae telis me petiere manus.
ipsa virum rapui simulacraque nuda reliqui:
quae cecidit ferro, Caesaris umbra fuit.'
ille quidem caelo positus Iovis atria vedit,
et tenet in magno templa dicata foro;
et quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum
numine, polluerant pontificale caput,
morte iacent merita: testes estote, Philippi,
et quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus.
hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt
Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem.*
(3.697-710)

⁷⁶ Ovid and the *Fasti* 111-115.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 115.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 124.

While clearly in the passage of the *Metamorphoses* cited above Venus is responsible for sweeping the spirit of Divus Julius up to the stars, here it is Vesta who claims him as her *sacerdos*. No mention is made of Venus at all. Moreover, the passage culminates with the vengeance inflicted on the murderers who dared to violate the Pontifex Maximus. The piety exhibited by Augustus in avenging not only his father, but the violated goddess as well provides the overriding tone of the account.

In his celebration of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor on May 12, Ovid repeats the same imagery. Augustus makes a battlefield vow at Phillipi, leading into the dedication:

*'si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos
 auctor, et ulcisci numen utrumque paro,
 Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum,
 stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus!
 templa feres et, me victore, vocaberis Ultor.'*
*voverat, et fuso laetus ab hoste redit.
 nec satis est meruisse semel cognomina Marti:
 persequitur Parthi signa retenta manu.*
 (5.573-580)

Once again, Julius Caesar is specified as both *pater* and Pontifex Maximus. Indeed, to Weinstock's statement that the temple of Mars Ultor was originally vowed by Julius Caesar as he set out to recapture the Parthian standards, an expedition thwarted by his death, Herbert-Brown adds, "And now to enlarge on Weinstock's thesis: it is most unlikely that Mars Ultor could have been made the avenger of Caesar in 2 B.C. had Caesar not been presented as Pontifex Vestae, a title which conflated Julian with national interests."⁷⁹ Augustus' own attitude towards the position of the high priesthood is also reflected here. Waiting until the death of Lepidus to assume the position left to him by

⁷⁹ Weinstock, *DJ* 130ff.; Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti* 98-99.

Caesar's last wishes, Augustus brought added prestige to the priesthood diminished by Caesar himself.

In summarizing, it is perhaps useful to refer to the conclusions drawn by Herbert-Brown, who ends her discussion of Julius Caesar in the *Fasti* by stating, "Ovid's reason for casting Julius in such a manner can only have been for the purpose of winning the approval of the dedicatee of his work. He perceived Augustus was downplaying the activities of the Dictator while at the same time profiting from his posthumous, deified status to legitimize his own prospective path to heaven."⁸⁰ That Divus Julius is consistently separated from the mortal general and exalted as a god specifically with reference to the actions of Augustus indicates the attitude of the princeps towards the dictator. It is the *pietas* of Augustus towards his *divus pater* which is foregrounded, and not the actions which earned Caesar a place in the heavens.

Alongside Ovid's treatment of Julius Caesar in those critical years between the end of Augustus' reign and the beginning of that of Tiberius, we should also examine the views of other poets who were less constrained by circumstance to write panegyrically, but did so anyway. Manilius opens his *Astronomica* with a panegyric invocation, calling down powers from heaven to help him sing about the stars. He cries, *hunc mihi tu, Caesar, patriae princepsque paterque, / qui regis augustis parentem legibus orbem / concessumque patri mundum deus ipse mereris, / das animum viresque facis ad tanta canenda* (1.7-10). When Manilius begins his poem, Augustus is still among the living, but is promised divine honors like those of his conspicuously unnamed father. Likewise Manilius sings of Augustus as having come down from heaven to which he will return (1.780). When Augustus does so, *cernet et in coetu divum magnumque Quirinum /*

⁸⁰ Ovid and the *Fasti* 128-129.

quemque novum superis numen pius addidit ipse (1.801-802). Once again, Augustus is more divine than his father whom he has made a god.

As the charisma of Augustus increased, it became less important for him to identify himself with his predecessor. We have already discussed the manifestations of this phenomenon in coinage and in literature. Now perhaps the most important area of evidence should be examined, namely the building of temples. While the temple of Mars Ultor was originally vowed (supposedly) by an avenging Octavian in the moments before the battle of Philippi, by the time of its dedication, it had taken on an additional and perhaps more emphatic importance as the depository of the standards lost by Crassus to the Parthians and recovered through diplomacy by Tiberius, among others. We have already discussed Ovid's account of the dedication of Mars Ultor with reference to its emphasis on Caesar as Vesta's priest. As the passage cited above continues, it recounts the savagery of the Parthians and Rome's loss of *pudor* (*Fasti* 5.579-598). The recovery of the Parthian standards equally entitles Mars as the patron of Augustus to the *cognomen* of Ultor.

This dual association of the recovery of the Parthian standards with Augustus' victory at Philippi and the ultimate vengeance over the conspirators indicates a strong tendency to cover over the civil wars by emphasizing foreign military conquests. The temple of Mars Ultor replaced the Capitoline temple of Jupiter as the starting and ending point for military expeditions. Its significance as the fulfillment of the vow at Philippi became increasingly less important than its symbolism of Rome's rise to world domination under the auspices of Augustus.

More important for the study of Augustus' treatment of Divus Julius, however, is

the temple specifically dedicated to the god. This temple was presumably vowed in the earliest political maneuvers of the triumvirate, but at its dedication in 29 B.C. the only member of the triumvirate left in power was Octavian, soon to be Augustus. Octavian had already erected a statue to Caesar in the forum near the place where he was cremated and the altar had been built by the people, as well as one in the temple of Venus Genetrix. Both of these statues were crowned with the star signifying Caesar's divinity. Other statues of Divus Julius were set up throughout the empire in accordance with the *lex Rufrena*. One of Antony's sons by his Roman wife Fulvia even tried in vain to seek asylum at one of these statues in the wake of Actium. But the supplication was denied, and the boy was dragged away and killed by Octavian, as was Caesar's son by Cleopatra, Caesarion.⁸¹

The cult image set up in the temple of Venus was moved to its new home in the temple of Divus Julius following its dedication. Also included in the temple complex was a speaker's platform which would supercede or at least provide a counterpart to the original Republican rostra in front of the Curia. Weinstock notes its significance, "The temple of Divus Iulius was the only temple in Rome which had a Rostra, the importance of which was in turn enhanced by this connection; it was used, naturally, at the funerals of the family, but also on other occasions."⁸² The use of the rostra in front of the temple of Divus Julius in funerals of the Julio-Claudian line would surely enforce the idea of their divine ancestry. Thus the political significance of Divus Julius continues to play a role in this function of imperial society. But he does so as the divine founder of the imperial line, divorced from his historical reality.

⁸¹ Suet. *Aug.* 17.5; Dio 51.15.5.

⁸² *DJ* 400.

Divus Julius may have had a temple in Rome, but how was he presented throughout the provinces? Within Caesar's own lifetime, honors had been accorded him throughout the provinces. And yet throughout the long reign of Augustus, only a handful of temples were erected to his divinity. As we have already seen, Caesar disappears from not only Roman but also provincial coinage after Octavian becomes Augustus, with the single exception of the star which heralded the new golden age. How Divus Julius is portrayed in the provinces proves a key point in determining the image Augustus was trying to present outside Rome. After Augustus assumed sole power, as we shall see, he encouraged temples to his divine virtues and to his own *genius*, refusing to accept the title of *divus* until after his death. Yet he was still *divi filius*. How was the *divus pater* to be worshipped—at his own temple, or at that of the *numen* of his son?

Anyone looking for temples to Divus Julius in the western provinces will discover that they did not exist. Étienne sums up the treatment of Julius Caesar in the provinces by stating, “En effet, le culte du *divus Iulius* ne s’est pas implanté en Occident à la différence de ce qui s’est passé en Orient: à la partir de Claude, le rattachement s’arrête à *divus Augustus*, comme si les grâces divines d’Auguste avaient la vertu d’ouvrir le ciel à ses parents.”⁸³ Étienne contrasts the cult of Divus Julius in the west with its established presence in the east. In the western part of the empire, the cult, especially in comparison with the honors accorded the *genius* of the living Augustus, suffers from absolute neglect. Aside from two temples dedicated in 29 B.C., the same year the temple of Divus Julius was dedicated in Rome, there seems to be no evidence for a strong presence of the cult of the deified dictator. As for the eastern provinces, in Ephesus and Nicaea, temples were

⁸³ *Culte Impérial* 296, cf. 375. The phrase in italics is cited by Étienne as coming from Gagé, “Divus Augustus. L’Idée dynastique chez les empereurs Julio-Claudiens,” *RA* (1931) 23.

built to Divus Julius, but only in conjunction with the long established goddess Roma.⁸⁴

There may also have been a temple of Julius Caesar in Sparta, but the only evidence for it is found in Pausanias.⁸⁵

Thus after Octavian became Augustus the cult of Julius Caesar suffered not only at Rome, but also in the provinces. Caesar's popularity in Rome ensured him a temple in the empire's capital. Augustus had felt compelled to carry out the measures which had been vowed when he was triumvir, including the fulfillment of divine honors for Caesar. These honors, as we mentioned, may even have been voted before Caesar's death.

Weinstock tries to establish that the cult of Julius Caesar was firmly established throughout the empire before Caesar's murder. He asserts:

To sum up. The first move was made by the Greeks: they honoured Caesar as they did their kings and later Dea Roma and Roman generals. Caesar intervened early in the building of Caesarea in provincial cities and probably in his colonies. His intention must have been to transform the isolated and more or less improvised honours into a comprehensive cult. The last decrees of 44 were intended to sanction and extend to Rome and Italy what was being done in the East. His first *flamen* was created, temples were to be built, games to be instituted. This plan was fully realized after his consecration; and it was the cult of Divus Iulius that served later as the model at the creation of the imperial cult.⁸⁶

Weinstock would like to attribute, then, the appearance of the cult of Julius Caesar to actions taken within the dictator's lifetime. That Antony and Octavian fought for control of the power over the divinity of Caesar led to the implementation or hinderance of these divine honors. But we have seen that even if these honors were voted to Caesar in his lifetime, the period after Actium showed that Augustus significantly downplayed the image of his predecessor and promoted his own.

⁸⁴ Dio 51.20.6. On the goddess Roma, see Mellor, *Thea Rhome*. On the two temples, see especially Hanlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti* 255-266.

⁸⁵ Paus. 3.11.4, cited by Hanlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio* 263.

⁸⁶ *DJ* 410.

The later worship of Divus Julius has recently been foregrounded in Ittai Gradel's discussion of the origins of the imperial cult. He asserts:

So though Divus Julius was an unquestioned god of Rome, with state priest and public temple in the forum, he was, paradoxically, not the first in the line of *Divi*, as it was constructed in the state cult of the empire. Caesar's cult under Augustus and later was what we may term 'self-contained'; only his priest and the cult personnel attached to his temple appear to have been involved in his state worship. The Arval Brothers, however, never sacrificed to Divus Julius; when they worshipped the list of *Divi*, it began with Divus Augustus, and this was presumably general for all other colleges of state priesthoods too.⁸⁷

Gradel further adds that the worship of Divus Julius did not form the sole basis for Augustus' own deification. It may have provided an example, but the spread of the worship of Augustus far surpassed any honors ever granted to Divus Julius.

While much more could be said about Augustus' abandonment of the image of Divus Julius, it is sufficient for the purposes of this study to summarize what has already been stated. First, that Julius Caesar disappears from Augustan coinage after Augustus assumes the *cognomen* Augustus and claims to have restored the Republic. The one instance in which he does reappear is to appropriate the star which appeared at the death of Julius Caesar as one which signalled the beginning of a new golden age inaugurated by Augustus. The Augustan poets, especially Ovid, portray Julius Caesar either in human form as just another triumphant general, or as a divine figure who serves only to bring his son up to the heavens—the son who was responsible for placing him there. And most importantly, the cult of Divus Julius fails to be propagated throughout the provinces. We have evidence of only two temples outside of Rome, and both of these were shared with the goddess Roma. All this is critical in establishing that when Tiberius succeeds Augustus, he is not merely following precedent by deifying his predecessor. His careful

⁸⁷ *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* 263.

cultivation of the image of Augustus is crucial to the survival not only of the imperial cult, but of the empire itself.

2. Tiberius and Augustus

When the Tiberian historian Velleius Paterculus is praising the deeds of his emperor, he exclaims, *Horum XVI annorum opera quis cum inhaereant oculis animisque omnium, [in] partibus eloquatur? sacrauit parentem suum Caesar non imperio sed religione, non appellavit eum, sed fecit deum* (2.126.1). Velleius' praise is instructive. The first of Tiberius' great works which he recounts is not the establishment of any brilliant imperial policy, the completion of a war, or the building of an imperial complex. It is the deification of his predecessor. More importantly, the contrast is made with the treatment accorded to Julius Caesar by Augustus. Tiberius does not just call Augustus a god, he makes him one. And he does it not by his power, but by his *religio*. Whether or not Tiberius believed Augustus was a god, he convincingly presented the image that he himself worshipped the spirit of his dead father. As Woodman points out in his commentary on this passage, "The sense of V.'s phrase appears to be: 'he deified his father not by ukase but by his own instinctive reverence.'"

By the end of the reign of Augustus, Julius Caesar seems to have been overshadowed completely by Augustus. In Velleius' account of the deeds of Julius Caesar, Caesar is never referred to as *Divus*. Likewise, no mention is made by Velleius of the struggle to have Caesar deified. The closest the historian comes to according Caesar divine honors is in his account of the battle of Alesia when he says, *Circa Alesiam vero tantae res gestae, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere paene nullius nisi dei fuerit*

(2.47.1). Caesar's descent is still traced from Venus and Aeneas, however, as this is important in establishing Augustus' own claim to divine blood (2.41.1).

Even Tiberius' greatest critic, Tacitus, relates an episode in which the emperor was found privately worshipping the spirit of Augustus. After Claudia Pulchra, a kinswoman of Agrippina, was condemned for committing adultery, practicing magic, and plotting to poison the emperor, *Agrippina semper atrox, tum et periculo propinquae accensa, pergit ad Tiberium ac forte sacrificantem patri repperit* (Ann. 4.52). Agrippina accused Tiberius of offering victims to Augustus (*mactare divo Augusto victimas*) while prosecuting his descendants (*et posteros eius insectari*). The political implications of this episode we shall discuss later in our treatment of the succession policies of Tiberius and Augustus. Here let us note that even the hostile tradition which promoted the image of Tiberius as a tyrant persecuting the descendants of Augustus, did so while portraying him as devoted privately to the worship of his *pater*. Tiberius was worshipping privately, not publicly. But private prayer does not promote a public image.

We shall discuss below in our treatment of the refusal of divine honors the honors accepted by Augustus which placed him on a level with the immortal gods within his own lifetime.⁸⁸ Here it will suffice to say that while significant groundwork had been laid for the imperial cult, the example of Divus Julius proves how a neglected image is soon forgotten. Augustus may have had limited worship throughout the empire while he was still alive through his *numen*, but after his death, that worship could easily have passed to the new *divus praesens* Tiberius. Had Augustus been succeeded by a charismatic, albeit insane, figure like Caligula, the imperial cult could have collapsed into

⁸⁸ For a chronological table of the divine honors accepted by Augustus and divine attributes found in the poets, see Cerfaux and Tondriaux, *Un Concurrent du Christianisme* 314ff. and Taeger, *Charisma* II.159ff. See also Taylor, "The worship of Augustus in Italy during his lifetime," *TAPA* 51 (1920) 116-133.

absurdity. Claudius observed as much. Instead, through the careful handling of the image of his predecessor, the continued denial of honors for himself, and most importantly, the diplomatic spread of the imperial cult in conjunction with Romanization, Tiberius firmly established the structure of the imperial cult upon the foundations established by Augustus.

As we have already mentioned above, Tiberius' first act as *princeps* was to deify his father. The details of this process are laid out by Dio, who goes so far as to include his own version of the funeral speech Tiberius might have given (56.35-41).⁸⁹ Dio's Tiberius concludes his speech with the resounding exhortation that because of all his good deeds, Augustus was made leader and father of the people, and finally a demigod declared to be immortal. Tiberius tells the people that they should not mourn for Augustus, but glorify his spirit as that of a god. As Augustus had not yet been formally deified by the Senate, this language of impending apotheosis seems quite appropriate. For want of a convenient comet as in the case of Julius Caesar, Dio records that an eagle was released at the funeral of Augustus to reflect his soul's journey to the heavens. Also, as in the case of Romulus' apotheosis into the god Quirinus, a Roman nobleman came forth to bear witness that he had seen Augustus ascending into heaven.⁹⁰

The *fasti* record that on September 17, 14 A.D. Augustus was voted *honores caelestes*.⁹¹ Temples were decreed to Augustus, and Germanicus was granted the honor of being the first *flamen Augusti*. Livia, now Julia Augusta, was made *flaminica*, an

⁸⁹ On the apotheosis of Augustus see Bickermann, "Die Römische Kaiserapothese," *ARW* 27 (1929) 1-34, and idem (as Bickerman), "Consecratio," in *Le Culte des Souverains dans L'Empire Romain* 1-38. See also Taylor, *Divinity* 229ff. and Gradel, *Emperor Worship* 269ff. On the conventionality of Dio's speech see Pippidi, *Autour de Tibère* 133ff. and Fraschetti, "Come elogiare" 34ff.

⁹⁰ Dio 56.42.3, 46.2.

⁹¹ *Fast. Viae dei Serpenti*, *Fast. Amnit.*

unprecedented position as the female priestess of her own late husband. The Augustalia were established in his honor. But nearly the same enthusiasm had been displayed in deifying Julius Caesar. Once Tiberius had assumed power, how did the image of Divus Augustus fare under the regime of his successor?

In keeping with the pattern laid out in the previous section, we shall begin this study by examining the image of Divus Augustus on Tiberian coinage. We have already seen how the image of Divus Julius was used in the early years of Octavian's rise to power only to disappear from coinage with one singular exception. As we have shown in the introduction, Tiberius also made the deification of his predecessor a political priority, establishing it as the only order of business in the first meeting of the Senate after the death of Augustus. So we can see that while it took Divus Julius two years to be officially deified by the Senate, it took Augustus only one month. The divinization of Augustus by Tiberius was necessary to secure his own political position as *divi filius*. And yet unlike his predecessor, Tiberius throughout his reign continually minted coins bearing the image of Divus Augustus. What is even more striking is that whereas Augustan coins consistently read *divi f.*, Tiberian coins steadfastly read *Divi Aug. f.* Tiberius is careful to trace his descent not just to any god, but to Divus Augustus.

Even before the death of Augustus, Tiberius was associated on coinage with the imperial cult. In the years 9-14 A.D. coins were minted at Lugdunum bearing on the obverse the head of Tiberius and the legends TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERATOR (V-VII). On the reverse was the altar built in 9 B.C. by Tiberius' brother Drusus at Tres Galliae dedicated to the worship of Augustus and Roma (Figure 2.7).⁹² That these coins should be minted at Lugdunum is appropriate, stressing the loyalty of Tres Galliae to

⁹² RIC Aug. 235-248.

Rome. That Tiberius should appear on these coins before the death of Augustus indicates the awareness in the provinces as to who would most likely succeed the beloved princeps. These coins continue to be minted in the early years of Tiberius' reign until the revolt of Sacrovir (21 A.D.).⁹³

One of the most common issues under Tiberius is a gold and silver series inscribed with the reverse PONTIF. MAXIM. The mint at Lugdunum minted these undated *aurei* and *denarii* continuously during Tiberius' reign with this legend and the picture of a seated female figure, holding a scepter in her right hand and a branch in her left (Figure 2.8).⁹⁴ Sutherland points out that, "this 'Pontif. Maxim.' coinage was issued in very great quantity, surviving now as what is probably the most common pre-Neronian imperial denarius."⁹⁵ The identification of the female figure remains controversial. This same figure appears on coinage under Augustus in Lugdunum (Figure 2.9).⁹⁶ The consensus is that whatever deity is being depicted, the figure bears a striking resemblance to Livia.⁹⁷

Kraft has gone so far as to identify the image as Concordia.⁹⁸ The dating of the coins to the time surrounding the dedication of the temple of Concordia by Tiberius at Rome makes this identification tempting. However, the attributes assigned to the seated figure resemble more closely those of Livia in later coins minted after her deification than those of Concordia issued under Galba. Moreover, the legend Pontifex Maximus seems to confirm Grant's hypothesis that the figure is Livia in the guise of the chief Vestal

⁹³ *RIC* Tib. 31-32. See also *BMCRE* cxxx.

⁹⁴ *RIC* 25-30.

⁹⁵ *RIC* p. 90.

⁹⁶ *RIC* 219-220.

⁹⁷ See *RIC* p. 87 (mistakenly referring to Livia as "the priestess Livia, revered as the wife of the first imperial *pontifex maximus* and the stepmother [?] of the second.").

⁹⁸ *Zur Münzprägung des Augustus* 242ff. This conjecture is taken as fact by Schrömbges, *Tiberius* 96ff.

Virgin, or perhaps even Vesta herself. We witnessed above that the only temple depicted on Tiberian coinage besides that of Concordia is that of Vesta on another coin of the Divus Augustus Pater series.⁹⁹ The connection between the Vestals and the Pontifex Maximus emphasizes Tiberius' position as chief priest. Likewise, aside from the popularity which Livia enjoyed while Augustus lived, the continuation of this imagery after his death would be appropriate given Livia's role as the chief priestess or *flaminica* of the cult of Divus Augustus. Furthermore, Livia was granted privileges which would place her on a level with the Vestal Virgins, providing more evidence for identifying the figure on a coin dedicated to the chief priest in charge of the Vestals as Livia.¹⁰⁰

This seated figure of a woman recurs on the first of many issues of *aes* coinage at Rome bearing the reverse DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER. In the Roman coinage, however, she is depicted as holding a *patera* in her right hand and a scepter in her left, reinforcing the idea that this figure is to be associated with Livia. Later issues would contain reverses featuring a round temple, victory, a wreath, an altar, a thunderbolt, or an eagle.¹⁰¹ Clearly all of these symbols reflect divine power and the continuation of Roman *imperium* under the auspices of its now-deified protector. As Sutherland reports in the latest edition of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, "Many of these Divus Augustus issues were very abundant, especially in the years after 22, and it is likely that they represent a significant proportion of Tiberian *aes* output from Rome."¹⁰² A thorough

⁹⁹ *BMCRE* Tib. 142, *RIC* 74. On these coins and their dating, see Sutherland, *NC* 6 (1941) 97-116.

¹⁰⁰ On this role played by Livia and its resemblance to the iconography of Vestal Virgins, see Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius* 115ff., and Bartman, *Portraits of Livia* 94ff.

¹⁰¹ *RIC* 70-83.

¹⁰² *RIC* p. 88.

study of these coins by Sutherland elsewhere has yielded the proof that these coins can be dated as being issued consistently at intervals throughout Tiberius' reign.¹⁰³

While all of the other DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER coins depict the head of Augustus either wreathed with laurel or crowned by a star, an issue of *sestertii* in 22-23 A.D. bearing S.C. in the center with the legend TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVST. P.M. TR. POT. XXIII on the obverse, has a reverse with the legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER, depicting Augustus as seated and holding a scepter and olive branch (Figure 2.10).¹⁰⁴ Mattingly remarks, "The obverse is certainly taken from the famous statue erected by Tiberius and Livia near the theatre of Marcellus. The title 'Pater', though peculiarly significant for Tiberius, adopted son, and Livia, adopted daughter of Augustus, has a general reference, and suggests the title borne by him in life, 'Pater Patriae'. The olive branch suggests the peace-giver, the altar and the radiate crown divine honour, the sceptre majesty."¹⁰⁵ Tiberius may be ruling on earth, but he is doing so under the watchful eye of his deified father.

In 34-35 A.D., around the same time as the issue of the coin bearing the temple of Concordia mentioned above, another sestertius with the legend DIVO AVGVSTO S.P.Q.R. was issued bearing a portrait of Augustus on the reverse, only this time he is seated on a throne placed in a chariot being pulled by elephants (Figure 2.11).¹⁰⁶ It should be mentioned that elephants were featured in the iconography of the temple of Concordia. Four obsidian elephants had been placed in the temple, a gift from Augustus

¹⁰³ "Divus Augustus Pater: a study in the *aes* coinage of Tiberius," *NC* 6 (1941) 97ff.

¹⁰⁴ *BMCRE* 74-75, *RIC* 49

¹⁰⁵ *BMCRE* cxxxiv.

¹⁰⁶ *BMCRE* 102, *RIC* 56, 62, 68.

himself.¹⁰⁷ Other coins minted in Rome in the later years of Tiberius (34-37 A.D.) bear the simple legend DIVVS/AVGVSTVS/SPQR spaced out on three lines, or the same legend surrounding a shield held by two victories and inscribed with OB/CIVES/SER.¹⁰⁸

As we have seen, the numismatic evidence clearly shows that throughout his reign Tiberius promoted the image of Augustus, his deified father. Moreover, Tiberian *moderatio* allowed the depiction of his mother as the priestess of Augustus, even if she herself was denied divine honors. More importantly, the profusion of coins minted especially at Rome in the last years of Tiberius' reign demonstrates the popularity of Augustus even twenty years after his death. While it cannot be proven that Tiberius was entirely responsible for the images placed on the coinage during his rule, one can be certain that had he wished to promote a certain cause, he could have done so. Instead, the image of his predecessor predominates the coinage. And unlike Augustus' coins glorifying the divinization of Julius Caesar through the star which was later appropriated for the *novum saeculum*, the images on Tiberian coins glorifying Divus Augustus associate him with the power of the Roman people and the blessings of peace.

Perhaps it is not insignificant that the legendary phoenix was reported to have appeared in the last years of Tiberius' reign. Tacitus places this digression in his account of the year 34 A.D.¹⁰⁹ Pliny the Elder and Dio both date it to the year 36.¹¹⁰ That this report is found in the annalists matches the numismatic evidence for some sort of Augustan revival during those turbulent final years of Tiberius' reign. The phoenix, as is

¹⁰⁷ On the significance of these elephants and of elephants in the Augustan program, see Kellum, "The city adorned," esp. 283-287.

¹⁰⁸ *RIC* 57, 63, 69.

¹⁰⁹ *Ann.* 6.28. On the possible reasons for this, see Keitel, "The Non-Appearance of the Phoenix at Tacitus *Annals* 6.28," *AJP* 120 (1999) 429-442.

¹¹⁰ *NH* 10.2, Dio 58.27.1.

reported by these three sources, was a bird famous in antiquity for his pious journey to bury his father. The image of piety and rebirth seems particularly appropriate as Tiberius is trying to restore the image of himself as the successor of Augustus, while trying to establish the charismatic link which would sustain the Julio-Claudian dynasty.¹¹¹

While we do not have Tiberius' *ipsissima verba* to compare with those of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, mention should be made here that while Augustus dropped the acts of the dictator Caesar as well as the name of Divus Julius from the loyalty oath which was sworn to the emperor, Tiberius throughout his reign forbade the swearing by his own acts, and went so far as to remove a man from the Senate for refusing to swear by the acts of Divus Augustus.¹¹² Tacitus relates that when the Senate tried to pass an act requiring an oath to be sworn by the acts of Tiberius, Tiberius rebuked them, saying, *cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico* (*Ann.* 1.72). Tiberius was making a clear distinction between the divine power his father had while he was still alive—the charisma by which *tota Italia* swore as Octavian battled Mark Antony—and the human role that Tiberius was filling as the successor of Divus Augustus.

In the literary sphere, it is more difficult to assess the environment of Tiberian times. With little surviving from the age of Tiberius in the way of literature, the impression often seems to be that only the most fatuous and flattering authors survived. Whatever the reason for the dearth of extant Tiberian authors, it can still prove useful to turn to those authors who do survive. As in the case of our study of Augustus' treatment

¹¹¹ On the significance of the appearance of the phoenix as the marking of a new golden age under Caligula, see van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* 113-116.

¹¹² This anecdote from Tacitus *Ann.* 4.42 is discussed by Mueller, *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus* 104 as an example of heresy. Cf. Dio 57.8 and Suet. *Tib.* 26.

of Caesar, the most useful testimony comes from that exile on the Black Sea, Ovid. In this case, however, it is more important what Ovid does not say as opposed to what he does. First of all, it should be noted that Ovid rededicated his *Fasti* not to Tiberius, but to Germanicus.¹¹³ This was not solely based upon a literary kinship to Germanicus' *Aratea*.¹¹⁴ Ovid knew all too well that Tiberius would not recall him if Augustus had not. But Ovid refused to give up, looking towards other members of the imperial household. By glorifying the image of Augustus and appealing to the *domus divina*, the exiled poet hoped to win permission to return to Rome.

The first and perhaps most significant example of this appeal to Tiberius by using the image of Augustus appears in a poem written while Augustus was still alive, but presumably enjoying his final days among mortals. Ovid had been sent an image of Augustus, Livia, and Tiberius by his friend Cotta Maximus.¹¹⁵ He worshiped this as *argentum felix omnique beatius auro, / quod, fuerit pretium cum rude, numen habet* (*Ex. Pont.* 2.8.5-6). The image of *Caesaribus Livia iuncta suis* (4) indicates that Tiberius was assuming the position being left vacant by the aging Augustus. And yet, Ovid praises Tiberius not by pontificating upon his future glory, but by exclaiming, *sic pater in Pylios, Cumaeos mater in annos / vivant, et possis filius esse diu* (41-42). While it could be argued that Ovid was merely paying court to the living Augustus, the behavior exhibited by the poet after the death of the first princeps indicates rather Ovid's awareness that even when Augustus was gone, his image would still be the key to any possible salvation

¹¹³ On Ovid's abandoned reworking of the first book of the *Fasti* and its dedication to Germanicus, see Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti* 173ff.

¹¹⁴ On the date of Germanicus' *Aratea* and Ovid's knowledge of the prince's literary activities, see Fantham, "Ovid."

¹¹⁵ On this and other aspects of Augustan divinity in Ovid see Scott, "Emperor worship in Ovid," *TAPA* 61 (1930) 43-69.

from exile. Unfortunately, Ovid also exalts the importance of Livia as the connection between Augustus and Tiberius, a position which her son no doubt resented.

Upon Augustus' death Ovid composed a poem not to the glory of the new reign of Tiberius, but rather celebrating the apotheosis of Augustus. He writes to Brutus, *quale tamen potui, de caelite, Brute, recenti / vestra procul positus carmen in ora dedi. / quae prosit pietas utinam mihi, sitque malorum / iam modus et sacrae mitior ira domus* (*Ex. Pont.* 4.6.17-20). Even from the Black Sea he makes an attempt to have his poem not just noticed, but heard by the imperial set, asking Brutus to give voice to the poem. By celebrating the apotheosis of Augustus, Ovid hoped to appease the wrath of the *domus Augusta*. He even glorified the apotheosis and the *domus Augusta* in a poem written for his barbarian neighbors the Getae in their own tongue (*Ex. Pont.* 4.13.17ff).

That Ovid appealed to Tiberius through the celebration of Augustus' apotheosis and through the glory of Tiberius' sons, Augustus' grandsons, Drusus and most especially Germanicus, also indicates that Ovid viewed his only salvation in propagating the image of Divus Augustus and his *domus divina*. Attempts were also made to influence Livia to change her son's mind. Although Ovid had been in exile for six years before the time of Augustus' death and knew the political climate of Rome only second hand, nevertheless, he remains a good eyewitness from the provinces to the image Tiberius was projecting from the capital. Augustus was still the primary figure in Roman political power, even after his death. Appeals to the new government would be addressed as if to Divus Augustus.

We have already mentioned above how Manilius, like Ovid, glorified Augustus to the detriment of Julius Caesar. Caesar was relegated to the role of divine ancestor and

separated from his historical person. Yet evidence shows that Manilius completed his poem under the auspices of Augustus' successor. How did the changing of the guard affect the panegyric passages of the *Astronomica*? While no one can be certain, the treatment Manilius accords to the natal signs of Augustus and Tiberius, Capricorn and Libra respectively, indicate that at the time he was writing books 4 and 5 of his *Astronomica*, Tiberius had taken over the reins of power.¹¹⁶ Aside from these passages, mention should be made of the close of book 4. Manilius sings, *ne dubites homini divinos credere visus, / iam facit ipse deos mittitque ad sidera numen, / maius et Augusto crescet sub principe caelum* (4.933-35). Augustus has been deified and has taken up his position as princeps in heaven. Thus he remains a tutelary presence for Rome having ascended back to the stars from whence he came.

Another astronomical work dating from the early years of Tiberian rule is the translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, commonly known as the *Aratea*, which has been attributed to Tiberius' nephew and adopted son, Germanicus. The author of this poem cannot be proven with any certainty. In various manuscripts the author is listed as T. Claudius Caesar, Claudius Caesar, Germanicus Julius Caesar, Julius Caesar, or Julius Caesar Germanicus. Due to the entangled lines of adoption and tricky nomenclature of the early Julio-Claudians, there is no way to prove whether the figure referred to here is Germanicus the son of the elder Drusus, the emperor Tiberius, or the emperor Claudius.¹¹⁷ Internal evidence favors the reign of Tiberius. The edition of Gain posits

¹¹⁶ On the use of the moon's position and the horoscopes of these two leaders, as well as the difficulties of these passages, see Housman, "Manilius, Augustus, Tiberius, Capricornus, and Libra," *CQ* 7 (1913) 109-114. See also the introduction to the latest edition of Manilius by Scarcia et. al. (xvi), "ma certamente non che l'intero libro IV - e meno che mai il V nella sua completezza originaria - siano stati composti sotto il governo di Tiberio."

¹¹⁷ The best explication of these details can be found in the introduction to Maurach's study.

the emperor himself as the author, while the majority of other editors favor Germanicus.¹¹⁸

The main bone of contention in this argument is the *proemium*, which begins:

*Ab Iove principium magno deduxit Aratus.
carminis at nobis, genitor, tu maximus auctor,
te veneror tibi sacra fero doctique laboris
primitias. probat ipse deum rectorque satorque* (1-4).

The passage ends with the lines, *haec ego dum Latiis conor praedicere Musis, / pax tua tuque adsis nato numenque secundes* (15-16). The problem arises from the use of the terms *genitor* and *natus*. If the addressee of the poem is the divinized Augustus, then these words could indicate Tiberius as the author. If the addressee of the poem is the ruling emperor Tiberius, that would indicate Germanicus as the author. On the other hand, the poetic conceit of calling one's grandfather or the founder of one's line of descendency *genitor*, along with the use of the word *sator* in line 4 could indicate Germanicus is dedicating his poem to the recently deceased Augustus. As much as I would like to believe Tiberius was indulging himself by combining his interest in Greek poetry with his interest in astrology, the silence of Suetonius and Tacitus speaks volumes. Had Tiberius been responsible for such a work, surely one of these two detractors, especially Suetonius, who seems to be aware of Tiberius' other writings, would have found a way to work it into their account of the superstitious princeps.¹¹⁹

Whoever the author may be, the fact that a poem dedicated to a divine leader could produce such a great atmosphere of mystery is significant in itself. That Tiberius consistently refused divine honors we shall see shortly. But the worship of the living

¹¹⁸ See especially the Belles Lettres edition of Le Boeuffle, that of Breysig, and the study of Maurach.

¹¹⁹ It should be conceded that evidence of Germanicus' authorship of the *Aratea* is also lacking in Suetonius and Tacitus. For arguments regarding Germanicus' authorship and possible dates of composition, see Fantham, "Ovid" 254ff.

emperor through his *numen* cannot be seen as evidence the dedicatee is still alive. The *numen* of Augustus was worshipped even after his death. The *Zeitgeist* of this *proemium* seems to indicate that a divine spirit equal to that of Jupiter has provided the inspiration. It seems likely that a contemporary poet, especially one in the imperial family, would have been aware of Tiberius' attitude towards his own divinity, and the pains Tiberius took to deflect any divine honors towards Augustus. Therefore, I would propose that the dedicatee is Augustus, but that the *proemium* is deliberately made ambiguous so as to indicate the *numen* of Augustus continues to rule through the inspiration which it provides not only for the poet, but for the reigning princeps.

This view is also espoused by Bertinelli, who further asserts that Germanicus is celebrating the power of Divus Augustus in order to increase the charismatic image of his great uncle. Moreover, the influence of Agrippina, the granddaughter of Augustus, is also to be seen in the panegyric language of the *proemium*. Bertinelli dates the poem to shortly after the death of Augustus and explains, “Soltanto a breve distanza dalla morte, nel clima di apoteosi e glorificazione del divus, che lo stesso Tiberio aveva interesse ad alimentare, ma che per il momento lo costringeva in una posizione ancora formalmente subordinata alla grande ombra, Germanico poteva trovare spazio e giustificazione formale per ricollegarsi al *khárisma* del *divus* attraverso l'affermazione del rapporto *genitor-natus*.”¹²⁰ As we have already seen, Tiberius fostered the image of Divus Augustus throughout his reign, but Bertinelli's argument that the deification of Augustus provides the occasion for Germanicus' panegyric *proemium* seems highly probable.

¹²⁰ “Cronologia e proemio del 'Phaenomena Arati'” in *Germanico: la persona, la personalità, il personaggio* 181.

Before leaving the realm of poetry, mention should be made of the often-overlooked freedman of Augustus who translated the fables of Aesop into Latin verse. As John Henderson has recently demonstrated, Phaedrus deftly weaves political morality as it should be practiced under a princeps into his interpretation of the Greek sage. Tiberius is shown as too clever to tolerate the flattery of an overzealous *ardalio* (translated by Henderson as “mucker”). He is a human ruler and is treated as such. By contrast, however, Augustus is treated as having been inspired by divine wisdom. When Divus Augustus is called upon to settle a case regarding a woman wrongfully accused of murdering her son and her husband, it is he *qui postquam tenebras dispulit calumniae / certumque fontem veritatis repperit* (3.42-43). Henderson interprets the passage as follows:

For Phaedrus is doing a spot of Empire State building here, in retelling this tale out of court; his fiction is itself part of the business of consecrating Augustus; and learning to love a dead Caesar, or finding a use for one, is no sideshow, in the reign of Tiberius. *Divus Augustus* is, it cannot be overemphasized, the eternal prototype. Mythologized through the four decades and upwards of his reign, he was then forever being returned to centre-stage in the rhetoric, mentality, imagery of Tiberius’ own quarter of a century of rule—as ‘son of the god’, but himself obstinately and permanently mortal....But Tiberian Rome set the style for keeping Augustus present in whatever lives the Empire might support, with legendary lore as well as official hagiography.¹²¹

As Henderson makes clear, the poets of the Tiberian era knew that in order to praise the living emperor, one needed to extol the dead one.

The age of Tiberius, as we shall discuss later when dealing with the topic of *maiestas* and censorship, was not a good one for historians. All that survives is a handful of names of those like Cremutius Cordus who challenged the imperial system. The two who have survived have been labelled as excessive flatterers, degraded to the level of

¹²¹ Henderson, *Telling Tales on Caesar* 38. The chapter dealing with this passage is irreverently titled, “The Only Good Caesar...”

courtier or propagandist. One of these we have already encountered, Velleius Paterculus. The other prose writer who stands out from the Tiberian period (calling him a historian is debatable) is Valerius Maximus. Like the exemplary history advanced by Livy, Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* endeavored to provide moral examples for rhetoricians and men desiring to improve themselves. His compendium is compiled by topic headings, and therefore cannot be classified technically as history. Nevertheless, his historical anecdotes provide a good case study for the treatment of religion and morality under the rule of Tiberius.

Once again it is useful to draw upon the flattering tone of the introductory *praefatio*. After laying out his purpose in compiling these stories, Valerius proclaims:

*Te igitur huic coepto, penes quem hominum deorumque consensus maris ac terrae regimen esse voluit, certissima salus patriae, Caesar, invoco, cuius caelesti providentia virtutes, de quibus dicturus sum, benignissime foventur, vitia severissime vindicantur: nam si prisci oratores ab Iove Optimo Maximo bene orsi sunt, si excellentissimi vates a numine aliquo principia traxerunt, mea parvitas eo iustius ad favorem tuum decuccurerit, quo cetera divinitas opinione colligitur, tua praesenti fide paterno avitoque sideri par videtur, quorum eximio fulgore multum caerimoniis nostris inclutae claritatis accessit: reliquos enim deos accepimus, Caesares dedimus.*¹²²

This passage has been seen by some as proof that the Romans under Tiberius worshipped him as a *deus praesens*.¹²³ A closer examination of the passage, however, especially compared with the *proemium* of the *Aratea* indicates that Tiberius is not to be worshipped as a god, but rather as a ruler who sets the ultimate *exemplum*, and who will one day receive the honors which his father and grandfather received. Notably Tiberius is called *salus patriae*, as he consistently refused the title *pater patriae*. He is seen as a

¹²² Text is that of Shackleton Bailey. Mueller, *Roman Religion* 17ff. proposes *alacritatis* for *claritatis* and goes to great lengths to explain why.

¹²³ This is a key point in Mueller's interpretation of Valerius' purpose and tone. See especially the introduction. See also Wardle, "Valerius Maximus on the *Domus Augusta*, Augustus, and Tiberius," *CQ* 50 (2000) 479-493.

benevolent ruler who rewards virtue and punishes vice. But more importantly, his *divinitas* is drawn not from *opinione* but appears *praesenti fide paterno avitoque sideri par*. In other words, the *divinitas* of Tiberius witnessed by Valerius is equal to and drawn from the celestial guidance of his father and grandfather. Also striking is the concluding sentence, *reliquos enim deos accepimus, Caesares dedimus*. This seems to indicate that it is the religious devotion shown by Valerius and other Romans which proves the divinity of the emperors. That Tiberius made it the first act of his tenure as princeps to deify his father, even before accepting power from the Senate indicates that Tiberius was to be included among the “we”.

Valerius returns to this theme of imperial divinity in the preface to book 8, chapter 15. The title has the heading *Quae cuique magnifica contigerunt*, and after an exposition on the way that nature herself encourages us to extol men who do great things, the passage reads, *verum etsi mens hoc loco protinus ad Augustam domum, beneficentissimum et honoratissimum templum, omni impetu fertur, melius cohibebitur, quoniam cui ascensus in caelum patet, quamvis maxima, debito tamen minora sunt quae in terris tribuuntur*. As Mueller points out, it is correct for Valerius to call the *domus Augusta* a *templum*, as the houses where Augustus had been born and where he had died had both been dedicated as places for worshipping the new divinity.¹²⁴ Likewise in the opening preface, Tiberius is associated with the divinity of his father, and is promised a stairway to heaven if he continues the divine work of his father and grandfather. What is interesting is that Valerius fails to mention the name of the current emperor, and the passage could be read as completely pertaining to the deification of Augustus. The

¹²⁴ *Roman Religion* 80, although I disagree that Horace *Epp.* 2.1.16 can be taken as evidence that the house of Augustus was a place of worship within his own lifetime (ibid. 214, n. 51).

ambiguity between the deification of the past ruler and the divine honors which lay in store for Tiberius would seem to indicate that Valerius realizes Tiberius must accept a certain amount of divinity in order to remain in power, but chooses to propagate the godhead of his father over his own.

But all of this literary evidence is circumstantial. That these writers were trying to impress Tiberius, and perhaps just survive the turbulent climate of his reign, has been used as an argument to dismiss them as obsequious. Nevertheless, the methods by which they choose to ingratiate themselves to the new regime show that while praising Tiberius the emperor was important, praising Augustus the god/father was more important. We have already seen how the image of Divus Augustus was portrayed and propagated in Tiberian coinage. Now let us turn to the physical evidence which indicates the cultivation of the worship of Divus Augustus and its spread under Tiberius.

Before proceeding any further, it should be mentioned that during his lifetime Augustus had allowed certain honors to be voted to him in the provinces, among which were dedications of provincial temples to Roma and Augustus in Pergamum and Nicomedia.¹²⁵ Other municipal temples were dedicated to the *genius* of Augustus. Thus much of the groundwork for the development of full-fledged divine worship had been laid during Augustus' reign. But as we shall see below, Augustus was careful to restrict such official worship to non-citizens and to couple it with worship of the goddess Roma. We have already seen what happened to the cult of Divus Julius under the reign of Augustus. A cult uncultivated quickly dies out and is replaced by worship of the living ruler, even if indirectly. Had Tiberius chosen to promote his own image over that of

¹²⁵ Dio 51.20.6. See the appendix to Taylor, *Divinity* for a listing of epigraphic evidence of honors to Augustus in his lifetime.

Augustus, the emperor cult could have taken an entirely different course. But Tiberius wisely chose to promote the image of Augustus over his own in building up the emperor cult, providing the religious ties to Rome that were increasingly necessary in a diverse and newly expanded empire.

At the very beginning of his reign, Tiberius vowed, in conjunction with his mother, the *flaminica* of Divus Augustus, a temple to his deceased and deified father. That this temple was not dedicated in his lifetime raises some interesting questions. We can begin to answer them by looking at the evidence for places of worship to Augustus in Rome which already existed while the temple was being built. First we should address the controversial *ara numinis Augusti*. The existence of an altar built to worship the *numen* of the still living Augustus, dedicated by Tiberius after triumphing over the Pannonians, has been posited solely upon an entry for the 17th of January from the *Fasti Praenestini*. The extant letters on the stone read as follows:

PONTIFICES.A[...]VIR.EPVLONVM.VICTVMAS.IN
M[...]NI.[...]VAM.DEDICAVIT.TI.CAESAR
[...]AUGPATRI.DEDICAVIT

One should note that the letters on the last line are significantly smaller than those on the top two. From this inscription, Mommsen conjectured the reading:

*Pontifices, a[ugures, XV]viri s(acris) f(aciundis), VII]vir(i) epulonum victumas
in/m[ola]nt n[umini] Augusti ad aram q[uam] dedicavit Ti. Caesar/ Fe[r]iae ex
s(enatus) c(onsulto), q[uod] eo die Ti. Caesar aram divo] Aug(usto) patri
dedicavit.*

This conjecture is based on the evidence for such an altar in the provinces at Narbo and Forum Clodii.¹²⁶ Thus was born the myth of the altar of the *numen* of Augustus at Rome.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Narbo, *CIL* XII.4333; Forum Clodii, *CIL* XI.3303.

Recently the voice of reason has arisen after a century of scholarly tradition to refute the existence of this altar, for which the *Fasti Praenestini* is our only source. In his book on the imperial cult, Ittai Gradel has argued:

The preserved left part of the letter interpreted as the decisive ‘n’ in n[umini...] looks decisively more like part of an ‘m’; I have searched through all the n- forms in the *Fasti Praenestini*, and I have not been able to find a parallel to this supposed ‘n’ The fact that the restoration has won general acceptance (presumably on the authority of Mommsen, Taylor, and Degrassi) and that no convincing alternatives have been suggested makes no difference; it is mere guesswork, and even conflicts with what is preserved of the calendar entry.¹²⁸

I am tempted to agree with this interpretation. But if we reject the dedication as definitively belonging to the altar of the *numen* of Augustus, that still does not diminish the inscription as evidence that some structure was built by Tiberius at which victims could be dedicated to his father Augustus. The absence of the letters before AVG makes it impossible to determine if the signifier Divus marking Augustus as deceased was part of the original inscription.

It should be remembered that the 17th was Augustus’ and Livia’s wedding anniversary. It should also be remembered that the dedication of the temple of Concordia took place on the 16th of January.¹²⁹ Whatever was dedicated on the 17th, there would have presumably been some connection between the two structures. We may never know exactly what this connection is, but we can definitely conclude that Tiberius had

¹²⁷ Degrassi accepts Mommsen’s emendation with the caveat, “N[umini] Mommsen, quod probandum esse videtur, licet quis vestigium primae litterae ad M pertinere existimare possit” 115. On the attempt to date the altar based on these fragments, see Pippidi, *Recherches* 47-74, and 193-201, the second being a response to Taylor, “Tiberius’ *ovatio* and the *ara numinis Augusti*,” *AJP* 58 (1937) 185-193. Also Alföldi, *Die Zwei Lorbeerbäume* 39ff.

¹²⁸ *Emperor Worship* 238.

¹²⁹ On the significance of January dates to the Augustan calendar, see Pasco-Pranger, “Added Days: Calendrical Poetics and the Julio-Claudian Holidays,” in *Ovid’s Fasti: historical readings at its Bimillennium* 251-274.

dedicated at least one other structure to Augustus in Rome besides the *sacrarium* which we will now discuss.

We have mentioned that Tiberius never dedicated the temple which he had vowed to Augustus. His history would indicate that he took his time with the few buildings which he did undertake. Completion of the temple to Concordia took him twenty years, during only eight of which he was absent from Rome. During Tiberius' reign, his absence from the capital became legendary, as he spent the last eleven years hiding on Capri and in Campania. So where did the pious go to worship the newly deified Augustus. Dio tells us that an image was placed on a golden *pulvinar* in the temple of Mars Ultor (56.46.4-5). Likewise an image of Augustus was dedicated near the theater of Marcellus by Livia, who irritated her son, at least according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.64), by inscribing her own name first.¹³⁰ But cult statues are hardly an effective means of full-force propaganda. Some sort of visual, topographical reminder was necessary to indicate that the charisma of Augustus had not deserted Tiberian Rome.

Suetonius, in his introduction to the life of Divus Augustus, discusses the house in which the princeps was born, saying it was *regione Palati ad Capita Bubula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum* (5). This *sacrarium* is mentioned by Suetonius in connection with Livia's threats to expose the true source of Tiberius' power. *At illa commota veteres quosdam ad se Augusti codicillos de acerbitate et intolerantia morum eius e sacrario protulit atque recitavit* (*Tib.* 51). This would indicate that the *sacrarium* held secret papers of Augustus to which Livia would have

¹³⁰ See also the *Fasti Praen.* for April 23, which preserves Livia's name first in the dedication.

access as his *flaminica*. Beyond that there is proof of the existence of the *sacrarium* found in three dedicatory funeral inscriptions.¹³¹

While Tiberius was painstakingly building the temple to his deified father, therefore, Augustus did not want for a public shrine in Rome. This is probably why the actual temple built to Augustus was called the *templum novum* upon its completion.¹³² Fishwick has recently argued quite persuasively that the temple which was finally dedicated by Caligula was of the same scale and magnificence as the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline. If so, we need look no further for reasons why the temple took so long to build. As we have already mentioned, Tiberius liked to take his time on building projects, but when they were finally finished, his contributions were among the most splendid and well-decorated buildings in Rome. Moreover, the sight of a huge temple in such a prominent place near the Basilica Julia would have been nearly as eye-catching while under construction as when finally completed.

So much for Rome. Even Augustus had built a splendid temple to Divus Julius in Rome. But what about the rest of the Empire? Tiberius could have foisted his own cult onto that of Augustus. By propagating his cult through indirect means such as his *numen*, *genius*, *Lares*, personified virtues, and by coupling his own worship with that of the goddess Roma, Augustus left the way wide open for his successor to usurp such a position, replacing the *pax Augusti* with, say, the *pax Tiberii*. But Tiberius was notorious for his refusal of divine honors, as we shall see below. Denying temples to himself, he encouraged the enthusiastic zeal with which *municipia* vied during Augustus' lifetime to show their loyalty to the first princeps.

¹³¹ CIL VI.2329, 2330a, 2330b. For these citations in full see Hanlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio* 114.

¹³² On the controversy whether there was another temple dedicated to Augustus on the Palatine, see Fishwick, "On the Temple of Divus Augustus," *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 232-255.

Dio (57.10.1) tells us that Tiberius went to the trouble of personally supervising the dedication of statues and temples to Augustus in his position as Pontifex Maximus. The historian states that either Tiberius personally or the other *pontifices* presided over the dedication of statues (*agalmata*) and shrines (*heroa*) to Augustus by the *demoi* and the *idiotai*. This would seem to indicate a plethora of individual shrines and personal dedications, such as those which would later provide the impetus for the *maiestas* trials which scarred the later years of Tiberius' reign.

In addition to the *sacrarium* mentioned by Suetonius which is dedicated to the room where Augustus was born, Tacitus relates that the house where Augustus died at Nola was dedicated as a public shrine by Tiberius.¹³³ As Tiberius was preparing to leave Rome for the last time in his life, he did so *specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nola Augusto* (*Ann.* 4.57). Likewise Suetonius says, *Peragrata Campania, cum Capuae Capitolium, Nolae templum Augusti, quam causam projectionis praetenderat, dedicasset...* (*Tib.* 40). The comparison of the structure with a temple to Jupiter indicates that there must have been some additional work done in order to make the building a temple. That this public act marks the beginning of the reclusive emperor's retreat towards Capri provides a good contrast between the public image projected by the Tiberian regime and the disposition of the absentee emperor.

Outside of Italy as well, Tiberius encouraged the building of temples to Divus Augustus. Tacitus records that in 15 A.D., *Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnis provincias exemplum* (*Ann.* 1.78). By using indirect speech, Tacitus fails to indicate whether permission was granted by the Senate or by the emperor. Étienne asserts, "Par suite, le

¹³³ Cf. Dio 56.46.3. See Hanlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio* 129-130.

souverain doit sanctionner la proposition des Espagnols: ce ne peut qu'être l'empereur, seul détenteur de l'autorité, dans une province impériale, et non pas le Senat."¹³⁴ That Tiberius granted permission for the building of the temple is significant. Even more significant is the ever-ambiguous Tacitus' remark that *datumque in omnis provincias exemplum*. That the example was granted to all the other provinces indicates an encouragement for them to show their loyalty by building temples to Augustus. The temple at Tarraco, as well as a closely contemporary temple at Emerita, are depicted on coins of the Divus Augustus *aes* series (Figure 2.12).¹³⁵ As Fishwick points out, while we may never be able to prove how many provinces followed this exemplum, "The focal point for the purposes of the present discussion is that Tiberius established the cult of his deified father in Rome and that this provided the model for the early provincial worship centered on the temples at Tarraco and Emerita."¹³⁶

Finally, lest we should assume that like the worship of Julius Caesar the primary impetus for the cult came from a popular movement and was exercised only so long as necessary, we find an account of the people of Cyzicus losing their privileges as a free state for failing to pay their due respects to Divus Augustus. Tacitus records that in 25 A.D., *obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus adversum civis Romanos* (*Ann.* 4.36).¹³⁷ Dio (57.24.6) provides more specific information that the *incuria* was the failure to build a shrine (*heroon*) which they had vowed to Augustus. An inscription discovered at Cyzicus (*IGR* IV.144) refers to Tiberius as Μέγιστος Θεών. Perhaps it was this excessive honor shown to Tiberius,

¹³⁴ *Le culte impérial* 407.

¹³⁵ Tarraco *RPC* 219, 222, 224, 226; Emerita *RPC* 29.

¹³⁶ *Imperial Cult* 168.

combined with the neglect of the cult of Augustus' which caused Cyzicus to be singled out as disloyal and caused their loss of privileges.

C. Refusal of Divine Honors

Tacitus recounts the anecdote about Cyzicus cited above in the chapter that precedes perhaps the most often quoted passage of the *Annals*, or of any work of Roman history for that matter, Tiberius' refusal of a temple dedicated to himself as the living emperor. When approached by the people of the province of Hispania Ulterior to build a temple dedicated to himself and his mother, Tiberius responds:

Scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a plerisque desideratam, quod Asiae civitatibus nuper idem istud petentibus non sim adversatus. Ergo et prioris silentii defensionem, et quid in futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. Cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur. Ceterum ut semel recepisse veniam habuerit, ita omnes per provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscuis adulationibus vulgatur.

Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum credant. Haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. Nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur. Proinde socios cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietam et intelligentem humani divinique iuris mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur.
(Ann. 4.37-38)

This famous passage, reported in direct speech, provides an excellent point of departure for the discussion of the refusal of divine honors by Tiberius and how it compared to that of Augustus.

¹³⁷ Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 37, who attributes the loss of freedom solely to maltreatment of Roman citizens.

Tacitus' Tiberius tells us that he allowed a temple to be built to himself in Asia because it was to be dedicated jointly to himself, his mother and the Senate (*decrevere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio matrique eius ac senatui* (Ann. 4.15)). The inclusion of the Senate as a divinity in the worship at this temple forms a parallel with Augustus' granting of permission to the Asian provinces to build temples to himself as the living emperor provided that he shared his shrine with the goddess Roma. The worship of Roma as a goddess representing Roman *imperium* had been practiced for centuries as a way of assimilating new territories into the Roman empire.¹³⁸ By joining his cult with Roma Augustus was worshipped more in a political sense than in a spiritual sense. That is to say, he was the agent of Roma, and was worshipped together with her as the symbol of Roman power.

The words of Tacitus, moreover, indicate that permission was granted tacitly. Tiberius says he apologizes if his previous silence on the matter implied unlimited approval of the imperial cult (*prioris silentii defensionem*). That Tiberius did not encourage the building of a temple to himself, but rather allowed a temple to be built which would honor himself and the Senate (and probably contrary to his liking, Livia) indicates his desire to try and preserve the tenuous concord between the *princeps senatus* and the *senatus*. Perhaps it should also be noted here that when the temple finally was built to Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate in the province of Asia, in the city of Smyrna, the cult statue of Tiberius depicted him in the manner of a priest. Price points out this iconography, but sees it as parallel to the gods acting as their own priests.¹³⁹ I would

¹³⁸ On the history of this worship see Mellor's *Thea Rhome*.

¹³⁹ *Rituals and Power* 185.

suggest rather, that Tiberius is trying to appear as a pious worshipper of the *concordia* between the princeps, his mother, and the Senate rather than as a divine monarch.

Therefore, with respect to the organized worship of Augustus on a provincial level, Augustus was not a god within his own lifetime. However, consideration of private worship and the dedications of local hamlets would lead to an entirely different conclusion. Tacitus reports that those watching the funeral of Augustus complained, *Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet* (*Ann.* 1.10). While Augustus may not have been deified while still living, he had certainly accepted *isotheoi timai*, or honors equal to those of the gods. Manfred Clauss has recently asserted concerning the Roman emperors, “Mann konnte vom Gott zum Staatsgott aufsteigen; fraglich bleibt, wie viele damals diese Differenzierung berücksichtigen wollten oder konnten. Eines aber ist sicher: Götter waren alle.”¹⁴⁰ In her treatment of the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, Gesche vainly attempts to make a distinction between *Vergottlichung* and *Vergottung*. There can be no way of distinguishing for certain exactly to what extent the emperor was visualized as a *deus praesens* by political strategy or by public veneration. However, the distinction must be made between the official policy regarding the imperial cult and the *laissez-faire* attitude which allowed private worship and worship on the local level.

Having learned his lesson from the fate of Divus Julius, Augustus was careful to accept only those honors which did not appear to be leading towards a Hellenistic monarchy. At the same time, ruler worship in the eastern part of the empire had long

¹⁴⁰ “*Deus Praesens*: Der römische Kaiser als Gott,” *Klio* 78 (1996) 403.

been a fact of political life.¹⁴¹ Augustus found a balance between *tyrannus* and *euergetēs* by allowing honors to be granted to him by private individuals and *municipia*, while restricting the official worship of his godhead. One of the ways he did this was by encouraging worship of his *numen* or his *genius*. Although there seems to be no easy answer for exactly what the difference is between the two divine aspects, the important thing is that by worshipping the emperor's *numen* or *genius*, the divine worship was indirect.¹⁴² The emperor was not a god *per se*, but rather embodied a divine spirit. Thus Dio (51.20.8) can make the controversial statement that no Roman emperor was ever worshipped as a god in Rome during his own lifetime.

Once Augustus was dead, however, his worship was encouraged and even perhaps mandated throughout the provinces. But paying homage to a dead emperor does little good for one trying to win the favor of the current emperor. Or does it? Looking closely at the words of Tiberius as reported by Tacitus, aside from his own refusal of divine honors, which, as we pointed out in the introduction, strongly resembles Dio's version of Maecenas' advice to Augustus on the same topic, Tiberius gives the reason that if he were to accept divine honors, the worship of Augustus would be diminished. Indeed, he believes that his acceptance of divine honors would transform the imperial cult into a mere device for obsequiousness. One could argue that Tacitus is merely accentuating Tiberius' hatred of flattery by implicating Augustus in his response. That the response is given in direct speech may or may not be evidence that we are really

¹⁴¹ On the Hellenistic background of ruler worship, see Price, *Rituals and Power* 23ff., and Taylor, *Divinity* 1ff.

¹⁴² On the worship of the emperor through his *numen*, see Taylor, *Divinity* 190ff. On the difference, if there is any, between the *genius* and the *numen*, see Fishwick, "Genius and Numen," *HTHR* 62 (1969) 356-367.

hearing the words of Tiberius.¹⁴³ But as in other episodes in Tacitus' *Annals*, the credibility of the historian claiming to write *sine ira et studio* increases when compared with the epigraphic record.

Aside from Tacitus' account of Tiberius' response to the province of Spain, we have evidence of a similar response having been given to the Spartan town of Gytheion. Two inscriptions were published in 1928 and provided rich fodder for scholars of that period.¹⁴⁴ One of these inscriptions dealt with the organization of a festival dedicated to the individual members of the imperial family, including Divus Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, the Nike of Germanicus, and the Aphrodite of Drusus. The last day of the festival was dedicated to Flaminius, the first savior of Greece. While this inscription is interesting in its own right, more pertinent to the present discussion is its counterpart, mentioning an unspecified *hieros nomos* and the penalties incurred for breaking it. Attendant to this is a response written by Tiberius to an embassy seeking either to inform him of actions already taken which would give him divine honors, or to seek his approval.

The inscriptions can be dated to the year 15 A.D., in other words, shortly after the accession of Tiberius. Tiberius refers to himself as Pontifex Maximus, indicating he had already accepted this title.¹⁴⁵ That Germanicus was still alive serves as a *terminus ante*

¹⁴³ On the possibility of Tacitean direct speech as being that of Tiberius, see Wharton, "Tacitus' Tiberius: the state of the evidence for the Emperor's *ipsissima verba* in the *Annals*," *AJP* 118 (1997) 119-125, a re-examination of Miller, "Tiberius Speaks: an examination of the utterances ascribed to him in the *Annals* of Tacitus," *AJP* 89 (1968) 1-19.

¹⁴⁴ *EJ* 102=SEG xi.922-3. The inscription was first published by Kougéas, *Hellenika* 1 (1928) 7ff., and inspired treatment from Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiserkult*, Seyrig, "Inscriptions de Gythion," *RA* 29 (1929) 84-106, Rostovtzeff, "L'Empereur Tibère et le culte impérial," *RH* 163 (1930) 1-26, and Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusal of Divine Honors," *TAPA* 60 (1929) 87-101. Taylor's article, although published after Rostovtzeff's, deals with his arguments, as her final paragraph discusses her agreement with his conclusions about the order of the documents.

¹⁴⁵ On March 10, 15 A.D. See *Fasti Praen.*

quem of 19 A.D. An early dating however, seems preferable, as it seems likely that the archons of Gytheion are trying to appeal to the new emperor by equating him with his predecessor and by referring to him as *pater patriae*, a title he explicitly refused.

Tiberius' response reads as follows:

[Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Σεβ]αστοῦ υἱό[ς Σ]εβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς
ἐξουσίας/[τὸ ἐκκαιδέκατο]ν/Γυθεατῶν ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ πόλει, χαίρειν. ὁ πεμφθεὶς
ὑφ' ὑμῶν [πρὸς τ]ε ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα πρεσβευτῆς Δέκμος Τυρράνιος
Νεικάνωρ//[ἀνέδ]ωκέν μοι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιστολὴν ἣ προσεγγέγραπτο τὰ
νομοθετηθέν/[τα ὑφ' ὑ]μῶν εἰς εὐσεβείαν μὲν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς τιμὴν δὲ τὴν
ἡμετέραν./[ἐ]φ' οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶν προσήκειν ὑπ(ο)λαμβάνω<ι> καὶ κοινῇ πάντας
ἀνθρώ/πους καὶ ἰδρία τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἐξαιρέτους φυλάσσειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν
τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἄφαντα τὸν κόσμον εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς θεοῖς πρεπούσας// τιμᾶς,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρκούμαι ταῖς μετριωτέραις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείοις· ἢ μέντοι ἐμὴ μή/τηρ τόθ'
ὑμῖν ἀποκρινεῖται ὅταν αἰσθηται παρ' ὑμῶν ἣν ἔχετε περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν
τιμῶν/κρίσιν.

In the inscription Tiberius thanks the citizens for their *eusebeia* towards his father and the *timē* shown towards himself. His refusal is somewhat formulaic, and may have been based on similar responses given by Augustus to curb excessive honors.¹⁴⁶ Significantly, he then adds his opinion that divine honors should be reserved for his father in return for the deeds of good will (*euergesiōn*) Augustus had performed, and that he is satisfied with honors which are more moderate and suitable for men. Excessive honors to the living princeps would diminish the glory of the dead one. This is the same idea contained in the response to Hispania Ulterior recorded by Tacitus and discussed above.

¹⁴⁶ See Charlesworth, "The Refusal of Divine Honours: an Augustan formula," *PBSR* 15 (1939) 1-10, on the formulaic denial of divine honors and its possible origins in Augustan policy.

Interestingly, Tiberius allows Livia to make her own response, which unfortunately has not been preserved on the stone. A dedication to Livia in the form of Tyche on a statue base found in the same complex would indicate that she accepted worship under this guise. That Tiberius wished to restrict the honor shown to his mother is no secret. Their strained relationship provided a great deal of ammunition for the scandalmongers and later historians. But Tiberius' policy for his mother followed the policy he held for himself. As she was still alive she could not truly receive divine honors. That he refused to deify her after her death would seem to indicate that he did not seek to be deified himself. Moreover, he would not diminish the honors shown to Augustus by granting them to a woman, even if it was his own mother. His refusal to deify Livia asserted that he wished to be seen more as the son of Divus Augustus by adoption than the son of Julia Augusta by birth.

One further document should be mentioned with reference to the official policy of the imperial family towards divine honors. During Germanicus' ill-conceived trip to Egypt (to be discussed further in chapters 4 and 5), the young prince spurred such a wave of popular affection among the people of Alexandria that he was forced to issue an official statement to curb their enthusiasm. Germanicus states that he cannot except divine acclamations, but that these honors are fitting only for the savior (*soter*) and benefactor (*euergetēs*) of the entire human race, his father (Tiberius), and for the emperor's mother, Germanicus' grandmother, Livia.¹⁴⁷ On the surface this refusal seems to mirror that of Tiberius, but as Nock points out, "The pattern of refusal was pertinent

¹⁴⁷ *EJ* 320. The inscription was first published by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Zucker in *Sitzungsberichte Pr. Akad. Wiss.* 1911, 794ff.

when something formal was proffered by a community acting as such, not when there had been nothing more than popular huzzas.”¹⁴⁸

Germanicus seems to be covering up something. His trip to Egypt, which Augustus had declared off-limits to senators, provided the ultimate proof that Tiberius had every reason to fear the charisma of his nephew. Germanicus tried to save face by reflecting his personal charisma back towards his uncharismatic uncle. I would suggest that by omitting the name of Augustus, Germanicus has, in his typical fashion, offended the sensibilities of his uncle and adoptive father. The turbulent relationship between the two consisted of a series of misunderstandings which demonstrated Germanicus’ complete inability to comprehend his uncle and his attitudes. While it could be said that everyone had trouble comprehending what Tiberius wanted, it could also be said that everyone knew, at least anyone who had ever dealt with the emperor, that Tiberius did not want divine honors.

That Tiberius did not want divine honors is patently obvious in the historians of later times. We have already quoted Tacitus’ account of the Tiberian refusal of honors for himself. Likewise Dio tells us that he did not set up any sacred precinct (*temenisma*) for himself, nor did he allow anyone to set up an image of him (57.9). Suetonius confirms, *Templa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permittente se poni; permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur* (Tib. 26). And yet, there are numerous examples of Tiberius being honored as a god within his own lifetime.¹⁴⁹ The fact that Augustus had allowed himself to be accorded so many divine honors while refusing to be

¹⁴⁸ *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World* 724.

¹⁴⁹ These are collected in Rietra's commentary on Suetonius *Tib.* 26, published shortly before the discovery of the inscriptions at Gytheion.

formally deified until after his death surely promoted the idea throughout the empire that the emperor was a *deus praesens*, a godhead come down to earth to live among men until his return to heaven.

Tiberius then seemed to be thrust into divinity. Naturally his subjects thought that because Tiberius had assumed Augustus' position as ruler, he would accept the position as *deus praesens*. In light of this atmosphere, it seems even more extraordinary that Tiberius was not granted more divine honors. Augustus had carefully arranged for his own deification, as Tacitus remarks when reporting the response to Tiberius' refusal of divine honors by various circles. Tacitus reports them as sneering, *optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere; sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos. melius Augustum, qui speraverit. cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni virtutes* (Ann. 4.38).

And yet Tiberius recognized that even if he refused divine honors, he must continue to be seen as a Julian, and most importantly, as *divi filius*. It is perhaps in this context that an often overlooked anecdote from Tacitus should be placed. In the year 25 A.D., a year which some might argue marked the decline in relations between the Julian and Claudian factions (on which see chapter 5 regarding succession policy), Tacitus notes, *et Segestani aedem Veneris montem apud Erycum, vetustate dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio; suscepit<que> curam libens ut consanguineus* (Ann. 4.43). Tiberius may have dismissed the notion that he was a *deus praesens* like Augustus, but politically it was greatly to his advantage, as it had

been to many statesmen of the late Republic, to claim descent from a god, in this case the ancestor of the Julian line, Venus.

That Tiberius failed to be deified provides the final point of contrast between himself and Augustus. While propagating the cult of Augustus well into his final years, Tiberius made no arrangements for his own deification. As Alföldi remarks, “Tiberius, dem Proskynese, Apotheose der eigenen Person und Kultehren bitter widerstrebten, war dennoch sehr darauf aus, den Adoptivvater zum Gott zu erheben, um als divi Augusti Filius die subjektiv-religiöse Loyalitätsbindung der Untertanenwelt für sich zu sichern.”¹⁵⁰ Leaving his future reputation in the hands of a spoiled young man whose mother he had exiled and whose brothers he had killed, Tiberius surely expected no great honors to be bestowed upon him posthumously. While Caligula may have proposed that Tiberius be deified, upon the vacillation of the Senate he immediately abandoned the issue.¹⁵¹ The charismatic popularity enjoyed by Caligula seems the best indicator that Tiberius was just a man, but Augustus was a god.

¹⁵⁰ *Die Zwei Lorbeeräume* 45.

¹⁵¹ Dio 59.3.7.

Chapter 3

The Power of Augustan Images in the Age of Tiberius

In his introduction to the brief section on Julio-Claudian art in the latest edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Torelli asserts, “Basically the reign of Tiberius was a pedestrian repetition of the pattern laid down by the Principate of Augustus.”¹ We have already examined the effort put forth by Tiberius in promoting the new cult of Divus Augustus. In this chapter we shall examine other aspects of the image and imagery of Augustus throughout the reign of Tiberius. One might argue that these subtle and not-so-subtle continuations of the iconography developed so carefully by Augustus were just as important as the imperial cult in routinizing the charisma of Augustus. Our study shall begin with a survey of late Augustan and Tiberian art, both public and private. We shall then examine more closely the iconography of Tiberian coinage and its role in promoting the Augustan principate and the new dynasty. Finally, we shall examine public buildings and scrutinize the language of official documents published by the imperial family and the Senate, and the manner in which they appropriate the charisma of Augustus for the *domus divina*.

A. Sculpture

Many books have been written in the past few years dealing with the portraiture of Augustus and the Augustan program in material and artistic culture, of which the most notable is Paul Zanker’s *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. By contrast, the only book written about the portraiture of the emperor Tiberius, despite his 23 years as emperor (not to mention his career before his accession to the throne as a key member of Augustus’ military and political machinery), is Luigi Polacco’s 1953 work *Il Volto di*

¹ CAHX.952.

Tiberio. Indeed it is worth noting that the series titled *Das römische Herrscherbild* has published works on Augustus and Tiberius' successor Caligula, skipping the second princeps. This prompts one to ask, why has so little been written on the image of a man who ruled the empire for so long? I propose that the answer is to be found in Tiberian fusion of unassuming Republican portraiture with Augustan classicism. By promoting images of himself which were unassuming and yet indicative of his position as Augustus' successor, while simultaneously propagating the image of Divus Augustus, Tiberius gave the appearance that the rule of Augustus lived on.

Tiberius' refusal of divine honors has already been discussed in the previous chapter, but here it may serve to recall the fact that Tiberius discouraged, one might even say vetoed, any sort of honor which would place him above the level of any other Roman senator. For convenience, we shall repeat the statement of Suetonius that, *Templa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permittente se poni; permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur* (Tib. 26). To examine the nature of Tiberius' denial more closely we should also quote Dio's account of the same phenomenon. Dio writes, ταῦτά τε οὖν δημοτικῶς διώκει, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε τεμένισμα αὐτῷ οὐχ ὅπως αὐθαίρετον ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλως τότε γε ἐτεμενίσθη, οὔτε εἰκόνα ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ στήσαι· ἀντικρυς γὰρ παραχρήμα ἀπηγόρευσε μήτε πόλει μήτ' ἰδιώτῃ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. προσέθηκε μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἀπορρήσει ὅτι 'ἂν μὴ ἐγὼ ἐπιτρέψω,' προσεπέειπε δὲ ὅτι, 'οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω' (57.9).

As this quote from Dio demonstrates, Tiberius was viewed as being *demotikos* in his refusal to accept divine honors and statuary. Dio here also purports to quote an

anecdote in which Tiberius says he will allow statues to be erected provided that he approves, adding that he will not approve them. And yet Polacco's book contains 43 plates of images of the emperor. While this may not match the number of images we have of Augustus or Claudius, there can be no denying that statues were erected of Tiberius before and during his reign, and even posthumously. Yet erecting a statue to Tiberius was decidedly trickier than erecting one to Augustus or to later emperors. We shall deal with the laws of *maiestas* and their relationship to statuary in chapter 5. Here let it suffice to say that Tiberius is quoted in the literary sources as having ordained that his image not be promoted in any way beyond that of a normal Roman.

In the first section we shall examine how Tiberian portraiture resembles that of Augustus yet never identifies itself as Augustan, and how it is often grouped with statues of Augustus, Livia, and other members of the imperial family to consolidate the rulership of Tiberius as ruling under the auspices of Augustus. Next we shall discuss possible identifications of Tiberius on the Ara Pacis, the altar of the Vicus Sandaliarius, the Louvre Suovetaurilia, and the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. Finally, we shall look at some controversial portraits of Tiberius in private commemorative contexts, most notably the Boscoreale Cups, the Sheath of Tiberius, the Gemma Augustea, and the Paris Camée. But it should be stressed that our goal is not to classify and identify portraits of Tiberius, but rather to examine the way they could be used to promote his relationship with Augustus both before and after the death of the Divus Pater.

1. Statuary

Before we begin our analysis of the iconography of Augustan and Tiberian portraiture, we should first mention the importance of portrait types. It is generally accepted that the way a ruler presented him or herself was of great relevance to his or her political agenda. We have previously mentioned the importance Augustus placed upon preserving Roman tradition and avoiding Hellenistic monarchy. This holds true also for his portraiture. While the trend in the late Republic had tended towards the realism associated with Hellenistic art, after Actium, the portrait types of Augustus reflect a shift back towards classicizing motifs.² The typology and message of Augustan statue types has been widely studied, and is not the primary focus of this work.³ Rather, we shall examine the portraiture of Tiberius, and the ways in which Tiberian statues reflect or reject the classicizing motifs of Augustan statuary.

That having been said, there are three generally acknowledged portrait types for Tiberius: the youthful portrait (before 4 A.D.), the adoption type (4-14 A.D.), and that of the reigning emperor (14-37 A.D.). Within each of these there are variations and subdivisions, and Polacco would include, unnecessarily in my opinion, a type labelled *imperium maius* between the adoption type and the ruling type.⁴ Nevertheless, these types are so divided for specific reasons and display subtle changes in the traits of Tiberius' portrait. The relationship between Tiberius and the family of Augustus and its manifestation in visual imagery can be seen in these changes.

² On this phenomenon, see especially Zanker, *The Power of Images*.

³ See especially, Zanker, *The Power of Images*, Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, and Hausmann, *ANRW* II.12.2 515ff.

⁴ *Volto* 125ff. We shall class these statues as those of the reigning emperor, as they seem to be dated after the death of Augustus. For a thorough treatment of this type and a detailed rejection of Polacco's theory, see Massner, *Bildnisangleichung* 77ff.

The youthful portrait shows Tiberius as a Claudian, noble and Roman, but not Julian (Figure 3.1.a-c). The ever important arrangement of hair, used as the primary means of identifying imperial sculptures, shows a marked difference between the hair arrangement of Augustus and his grandsons. As Boschung notes in his treatment of “Des Bildnistypen der iulisch-claudischen Kaiserfamilie”:

Ein Vergleich der iulisch-claudischen Bildnistypen untereinander ergibt immer wieder grosse Ähnlichkeiten. So zeigen alle Bildnisfassungen des Augustus eine grosse Lockenzange über der Stirn, die freilich ganz unterschiedlich ausgestaltet wird. Auch seine Adoptivsöhne Gaius und Lucius übernehmen dieses auffällige Haarmotiv in veränderter Form. Bereits das Porträt des Drusus maior und die Prinzenbildnisse des Tiberius sind dagegen grundsätzlich anders frisiert.⁵

Likewise, in his study of Tiberian portraits, especially the youthful type known as Type Basel, Boschung notes that the hair arrangement and realism of features in the youthful portraits of Tiberius “bieten nicht Augustusporträts, sondern spätrepublikanische Bildnisse die besten Parallelen.”⁶

But once Drusus the Elder, Gaius, and Lucius had died, the portraiture of Tiberius reflects an entirely different situation within the family and the imperial infrastructure (Figure 3.2.a-c). Boschung, who sees 11 B.C. as the crucial date for the integration of Tiberius into the Julian clan, has dated the so-called “adoption-type” portrait as early as the occasion of the marriage of Tiberius and Julia.⁷ In light of the prominence accorded to the two grandsons of Augustus, it seems unlikely that Tiberius was projected into the spotlight through a radical change in his portraiture at this early date. Moreover, the adoption-type of Tiberius too closely resembles portraiture of Gaius and Lucius (Figure

⁵ “Die Bildnistypen der iulisch-claudischen Kaiserfamilie: ein kritischer Forschungsbericht,” *JRA* 6 (1993) 40ff.

⁶ *Antike Kunstwerke aus dem Sammlung Ludwig* III.374ff.

⁷ “Des Bildnistypen,” 57ff. Massner, *Bildnisangleichung* 48ff., also proposes a date sometime after the dedication of the Ara Pacis, but before Tiberius’ exile for the original manifestation of this portrait type, which was then revived upon Tiberius’ adoption.

3.3.a-d) to be dated to the time when Tiberius was no more than the stepfather of these two young men.⁸ The similarities are rather those exhibited between brothers sharing the same father, albeit through adoption.

In his study of the portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Pollini remarks concerning the heads of statues found at Gortyn and presumably set up around the same time, “Since the portrait of Gaius from Gortyn is so similar in style to the late Augustan/early Tiberian likeness of Tiberius from the same locale and since the vast majority of our evidence for honors to Gaius and Lucius are of Augustan or Tiberian date, it is probable that the head of Gaius was created shortly before or after the beginning of Tiberius’ principate...”⁹ Pollini further sees similarities between portraits of Gaius and Lucius set up in the later reign of Augustus and the reign of Tiberius and the Tiberian adoption-type portrait.¹⁰

On the accession of Tiberius, his portraits undergo yet another change, this time returning to the more Claudian style (Figure 3.4.a-f).¹¹ His hair, more tousled and Augustan in the adoption type portraits, now forms a practically straight line extending across his expansive forehead. There is a definite effort to return to the more Republican image displayed in his youthful portraits and the realism contrasts strikingly with the classicism commonly acknowledged to have influenced the portraits of Augustus,

⁸ This similarity is highlighted by Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen* 1.10ff., who date this portrait type as late Augustan. They also see resemblances between this portrait type and early manifestations of Augustus’ Prima Porta type.

⁹ *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar* 54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 67, 71, 78, 79, 86 et passim.

¹¹ On the change in Tiberius’ portrait on his accession towards a more Republican style, see Massner, *Bildnisangleichung* 83ff. For an overview of the Claudian princes and their characteristics in portraiture see Poulsen, *Claudische Prinzen*.

especially the famous Prima Porta statue.¹² As Polacco demonstrates, the portrait was intended to display Tiberius “non re o tiranno, non Dio e nemmeno *Pater Patriae*, ma soltanto, come egli ambiva ritenersi, *vocatus electusque potius a re publica* (Tac. *Ann.* 1.11.1).”¹³

That having been said, in his study of the portraits of Augustus in the *Das römische Herrscherbild* series, Boschung dates certain portraits of Augustus to the reign of Tiberius based not upon the resemblance of Tiberius to Augustus, but rather on the resemblance of Augustus to Tiberius (Figure 3.5.a-b). Boschung notes that certain portraits of Augustus show a more linear hairstyle, as seen in the portraits of the reigning Tiberius. Likewise, certain features of Tiberius which mark him distinctively as a Claudian—unusually large eyes with thick eyelids, receding mouth, and prominent chin (most explicitly displayed in the Tiberian portrait Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 624 (Figure 3.4.b))—according to Boschung, can be seen to be encroaching upon portraits of Augustus set up in the reign of Tiberius.¹⁴

The main problem with Boschung’s theory, as Smith demonstrated in his review of Boschung’s work, is that these portraits are otherwise undatable.¹⁵ They could just as easily be dated to the reign of Claudius, another emperor who modeled himself on Augustus, but who also promoted his own image in turn. Claudian portrait groups included more Claudians than Julians, so it seems likely that Augustus would be portrayed among the Claudians as a Claudian. Moreover, I doubt that so soon after the

¹² A challenge to this commonly accepted view of Augustan classicizing can be found in Smith’s review of Boschung’s *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, “Typology and diversity in the portraits of Augustus,” *JRA* 9 (1996) 31ff.

¹³ *Volto* 139.

¹⁴ *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* 73ff. See also Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog* 1.2.

¹⁵ “Typology and diversity,” 40ff.

death of Divus Augustus people would have been able to forget what he looked like. Enough extant portraits would have existed, along with coins featuring the likeness of Divus Augustus Pater, that there would have been little inadvertent infiltration of features of Tiberius into these portraits.

Another factor to be taken into account is the image of Livia as the mediator between the Divus Augustus and Tiberius. Bartman has argued that portraits of Tiberius which were set up during his reign may very well have been influenced by portraits of Livia. She asserts, “As Livia had been a portrait subject for at least a decade prior to Tiberius’s portrait debut, it is likely that her imagery was the iconographic determinant for her son’s first portrait.”¹⁶ This trend also continued into the reign of the emperor. Bartman continues, “In view of Tiberius’s reluctance to accept honorific portraits, Livia’s portraiture may have filled a kind of iconographic ‘vacuum,’ continuing to influence the emperor’s portrait throughout his reign.”¹⁷ Thus Bartman seems to suggest that if one were to read Claudian traits into portraits of Augustus which may or may not date from the reign of Tiberius, it could well be the case that Augustus was being assimilated not with Tiberius, but rather his adopted daughter and *flaminica*, Julia Augusta (Livia).

The last possible source of Claudian traits would be of course, Germanicus and Drusus. These two were the continuation of the dynasty and were consistently associated with the charisma of Augustus. We shall see shortly the importance of portrait groups to assuring support for the *domus Augusta*. Inevitably portraits of the new Divus would have been commissioned for these groups, which would naturally promote the younger generation. It is thus likely that images of Augustus would be tailored to fit this ideology.

¹⁶ *Portraits of Livia* 107.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 108.

As Fittschen and Zanker explain it, the adaptations of older Augustan portrait types such as the Prima Porta type and the Forbes type would inevitably reflect “ein Element des von Tiberius und den Claudischen Prinzen geprägten ‘Zeitgesichts’.”¹⁸

Even if there is evidence for infiltration of Claudian characteristics into portraits of Augustus and vice versa, there are nevertheless certain distinctions which remain fixed. The most striking of these distinctions is that of age. It has often been remarked that in contrast to the Hellenistic and exceedingly realistic portraits of late Republican magistrates, most notably portraits of Julius Caesar (Figure 3.6), Augustan portraits create a classicizing air of near-divinity and immortality. Augustus, who died an old man, is never depicted as *senex*. To a certain extent this classicizing phenomenon also held true for the other two elder statesmen of the Julio-Claudian line, Tiberius and Claudius.

And yet, although both Tiberius and Claudius may not be depicted as old, they are certainly depicted as older than Augustus. While the portrait of Augustus throughout the reign of Tiberius remains strong and virile, depicting Divus Augustus in the prime of his life, portraits of Tiberius depict the strain that the *onus imperii* took on the emperor (Figure 3.7.a-c). In contrast to the frequently copied “Prima Porta” type of Augustus, portraiture of Tiberius in his reign shows the emperor with an increasing number of wrinkles and thinness of face. Smith summarizes, “The portraits of Tiberius and Claudius, out of a kind of pious visual *modestia* towards the first princeps, display a more mature physiognomical age than Augustus’ portraits, but still have the stiff, plain, controlling Augustan vocabulary (near-frozen in some versions of Tiberius’ portraits).”¹⁹

¹⁸ Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog* 1.3.

¹⁹ “Typology and diversity” 47.

Principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse (Ann. 3.6). Augustus was the *res publica*.

This brief discussion of Tiberian portraiture has avoided issues of variation within the types, but we should conclude with a note on the origin and spread of imperial statues.²⁰ There is no proof that any official workshop established a prototype which was then sent out to the ateliers of the provinces and *municipia*. However, there is some support for the idea that these peripheral statues were based upon images erected in the capital. While no systematic study has yet been done to mark specific changes in iconography and features relative to a particular area (and perhaps it is a Sisyphean task), the majority of scholars agree that local variations seem to occur based on Roman portraits. We shall now turn our attention to those local statues, paying special attention not so much to the variations in types, but rather to the arrangement of the statues of various members of the imperial household.

The following section will be concerned with statues of the emperor which can be reasonably located in a public place, particularly the arrangement of statue groups in provincial towns as a statement of imperial ideology. By examining the arrangement of imperial statues, we can see certain changes which reflect the political and social climate within the *domus Augusta*. The changes in the line of succession, the *damnatio memoriae* of certain members of the family, and the benefactions of certain members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty all influenced the erection of statue groups throughout the empire. But one thing remained a constant—the charismatic power of Augustus and his place as the head of the household and protector of the empire.

²⁰ In addition to the overview provided by Rose in *Dynastic Commemoration*, a standard reference remains the article by Stuart, “How were imperial portraits distributed throughout the Roman Empire?,” *AJA* 43 (1939) 601-617. See also Ando, *Imperial Ideology* 228ff.

As we noted in the introduction to this chapter, according to Suetonius and Dio, Tiberius strongly discouraged statues of himself. Following in the footsteps of an emperor who had tacitly promoted his own image and encouraged the erection of statues and other honorific *emblema* provided that they remained within the realm of human honors, Tiberius could not outlaw the erection of statues to his honor in any categorical and all-inclusive sense. The change of rule as seen from below naturally meant a change of statues. This is precisely what got Granius Marcellus into trouble. By cutting off the head of a statue of Augustus and replacing it with one of Tiberius, he incurred an accusation of *lèse majesté*. But Tiberius spoke on his behalf, not wanting *maiestas* to become a source of peril and a weapon of senatorial infighting. Of course it became just that anyway in the later years of his reign.²¹ Nevertheless, we shall see that Tiberius was careful to promote Augustus as superior to himself in public statuary groups, as well as encouraging the erection of statues of the new Divus in private settings.

There was no specific authorization or permission necessary for the erection of a statue group. The process developed alongside the principate itself.²² But various municipalities, struggling within this new system to proclaim their loyalty to the imperial household, would have been careful not to risk offense. In his recent analysis of imperial portrait groups, Brian Rose perhaps best summarizes the general consensus among scholars by stating:

This survey of Julio-Claudian dynastic art and ideology has demonstrated that the production of Imperial statuary was not controlled by the Imperial court, but was rather shaped by a multiplicity of factors. The donors formulated compositional schemes based on their perception of the reigning emperor's attitude towards his family. This interpretation of Imperial policy was often derived from decrees sent from Rome to the provinces on the occasion of births, deaths, remarriages, and

²¹ More on this will follow in chapter 5.

²² On this process, see Pekáry, *Das Römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft*.

denunciations within the Imperial court, and it was probably supplemented by the types used on Imperial coinage. A proposal outlining the basic format of the group and requesting permission for its erection was then sent by the donor to the emperor, who could approve or modify the proposed format. Additional features such as the arrangement of the statues and the structure of their inscriptions were decided by the donors, although there was sometimes input from provincial governors or legates.²³

Whatever variation may have been displayed from province to province, for statues erected in public places there must have been some guidance from Rome.

In Rose's study, "Of the eighteen portraits of Augustus that survive from dynastic groups, six are Augustan, five Tiberian, two Caligulan, and five Claudian."²⁴ The number of portraits of Augustus which survive from statue groups erected during his own 44 years as princeps is thus roughly equivalent to the number erected during the 23 year reign of Tiberius (or the 13 year reign of Claudius for that matter). As the founder of the dynasty, that may not seem too surprising, but by contrast it should be remembered that portraits of Augustus paired with Julius Caesar were few and far between. As Rose states, "The dedication of so many statuary groups of Tiberius and Divus Augustus represents a significant policy shift from the Augustan period, when groups did not contain both human and divine components, and from this point on images of *divi* and the reigning emperors were regularly joined together....Now that Augustus was a *divus* himself, the name of Caesar seems to disappear from dynastic propaganda."²⁵

Perhaps the best example of this presentation of Augustus as superior to the other members of the imperial household can be seen in a statue group from Leptis Magna, found at a site which has been identified the Temple of Augustus and Roma (Figure 3.8.a-f). The temple was probably begun in the late Augustan era but not finished until

²³ *Dynastic Commemoration* 51.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 60.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 23.

the early reign of Tiberius.²⁶ The inner *cella* housed statues of Augustus and Roma, the *pronaos*, statues of Tiberius and Livia. The parallelism of the two statues pairs is obvious, as both pairs are seated and acrolithic. But the size ratio makes it clear that Augustus is still superior. Augustus' head measures .92m, whereas Tiberius' measures .74m. The difference is noticeable. Likewise, the head of Roma is .73m, and Livia's .68m. As can be seen, the head of Roma is roughly the same size as that of Tiberius.

As Boschung noted in his study of statue groups of the *Gens Augustea*, the pairing of Augustus and Roma is similar to that on the Gemma Augustea, which we shall look at more closely below.²⁷ Likewise, the pairing of Tiberius and Livia matches that of the Grand Camée of Paris.²⁸ These pairings must have been somewhat commonplace throughout imperial iconography. It should be noted that while on the Gemma Augustea the living Augustus is paired with the goddess Roma and not his wife Livia, on the Grand Camée the living (or perhaps deceased) Tiberius is depicted not with Roma or any other goddess, but with his mother, his link to the line of Augustus.

Outside the temple were equestrian statues dedicated to Germanicus and Drusus. The pairing of these two princes of the Julio-Claudian line closely resembles the pairing of Augustus with his two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius. As Boschung has pointed out, if the statues of Drusus the Younger and Germanicus were placed outside the temple or on the porch, and the statues of Tiberius and Livia, Augustus and Roma were placed inside, then the statues of the senior members of the family would not have been visible on a daily basis.²⁹ The neo-Punic inscription dating these statues designates that they were

²⁶ On this statue group and its significance, see Boschung, *Gens Augustea* 8ff.

²⁷ *Gens Augustea* 15.

²⁸ Ibid. 16.

²⁹ Ibid. 18.

erected posthumously, thus indicating that the charisma of the princes would be used to assure the position of their sons, particularly the sons of Germanicus.³⁰ Thus while Drusus and Germanicus were advertised as continuing through their sons the line of Augustus whose temple the statues decorated, Tiberius was placed out of public view between the charismatic past and the charismatic future.

Although the ancient historians alleged that Tiberius was responsible for the death of Germanicus, there is every indication that the second princeps vigorously promoted the image of the young man both before and after his adopted son's death.³¹ That Caligula, the son of Germanicus, and Claudius, his brother, should promote the image of Germanicus seems reasonable. But it is often forgotten that aside from being his adoptive father, Tiberius was also Germanicus' uncle. No matter how tempestuous the relationship between Germanicus and Tiberius may have been, the affection Tiberius felt for his brother Drusus, the father of Germanicus, became a legendary *exemplum* of fraternal piety.³² Moreover, politically he was bound by the arrangement handed down by Augustus. The groupings of statuary under the reign of Tiberius give every indication that an effort was made to promote Germanicus and his line in preference to Tiberius' own son Drusus.

Statue groups pairing Germanicus and Drusus the Younger are found at Beziers, Apollonia, Ephesus, Palmyra, and Leptis Magna. And while there is evidence for a

³⁰ The first publication of this inscription was by G. Levi Della Vida, *Afr.It.* 6 (1935) 15ff. An English translation can be found in Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration* 182. The titles of the two princes are those which they had held upon their deaths. Rose (183) thus infers, "The group therefore seems to have been set up after 23 as a posthumous monument to both princes....The composition of the Lepcis group seems to represent a conflation of the posthumous honors voted to Germanicus and Drusus."

³¹ We shall return to the relationship between these two and its consequences in chapter 5.

³² Recall Tiberius' joint dedication in the name of himself and the deceased Drusus of the newly rebuilt temples of Castor and Concordia, as well as his incredible ride to his brother's deathbed.

pairing of Tiberius and Germanicus at Luna, there is no evidence for a pairing of Tiberius and his son Drusus. Likewise, the sons of Germanicus are found in statuary from the Tiberian era at Tarraco, Beziers, and Otricoli. Tiberius upon the death of his own son Drusus, commended the children of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus to the Senate (*Ann.* 4.8). No mention was made of Drusus' son Tiberius Gemellus. Likewise, there are no surviving honorary statues of Tiberius Gemellus from the reign of Tiberius. While Tiberius may have loved his grandson, the statue groups reinforce the state in which he left the succession at his death. The son of Germanicus became his successor, and the charisma of Augustus made sure that Tiberius Gemellus was easy to forget.

That statue groups exist representing Germanicus and Drusus with Tiberius their father is not so surprising. What is surprising, however, is the pairing of statues of Gaius and Lucius with Tiberius. Rose notes:

In some dynastic groups, the connection between Tiberius and the family of Augustus was effectively conveyed through the inclusion of images of Gaius and Lucius. The two princes were legally brothers of Tiberius and were referred to as such in the senatorial decree of A.D. 19, which specified posthumous honors for Germanicus. Because of their consanguineous connection to Augustus, the presence of their statues in a dynastic ensemble fortified the position of Tiberius and his family within the Julian *gens*. In the Basilica Aemilia in Rome, clipei of Tiberius, Lucius, and almost certainly Gaius were set up in A.D. 27/8, and images of the two men appeared with the Tiberian family in monuments erected at Aesis, Otriculum, and Aphrodisias.³³

As Rose points out, the relationship expressed in the inscriptions is not that of stepfather and stepsons, but rather of brothers. As they had all been adopted by Augustus, in that respect they were brothers. However, Gaius and Lucius were grandsons by blood, while Tiberius bore no Julian blood in his veins. By joining himself to the grandsons of Augustus, Tiberius utilized their inherited charismatic power. It should also be

³³ *Dynastic Commemoration* 22.

remembered that with regards to individual portrait traits we have already seen that the adoption portrait of Tiberius exhibits similarities to those of Gaius and Lucius. We shall examine this phenomenon further in the section of this chapter dealing with official edicts and inscriptions, but with regards to statue groups set up under Tiberius, it is clear that the princeps' portrait was modeled on those of the other adopted sons of Augustus.

2. Relief Sculpture

Having discussed the arrangement of portrait groups in late Augustan, early Tiberian iconography, we should next turn our attention to another aspect of public display—relief sculpture. In this section we shall address the possible identifications of Tiberius on the Ara Pacis, the altar of the Vicus Sandalarius, the Louvre Suovetaurilia, and most importantly, the breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta.

We should begin with a few problematic identifications of Tiberius on Augustan monuments, first and foremost, the Ara Pacis. It is perhaps ironic that one of the most mutilated pieces of the altar celebrating Augustan peace is the panel featuring the emperor himself (Figure 3.9.a). As a result it is difficult to identify the figures immediately surrounding him. In his presence are lictors, recognizable by their ceremonial garb. But on either side of Augustus are two figures who have yet to be securely identified. Polacco identifies these men as the two consuls of that year, Tiberius and the ill-fated Varus. His explanation cannot be explicitly disproven, but other answers have been offered which seem more reasonable.

Pollini suggests that these two men are augurs, a more likely explanation given their location in the procession amidst the other priests, and alongside Augustus, the head of Roman state religion. In his opinion, Tiberius can rather be seen as the first man

standing behind Agrippa (Figure 3.9.b).³⁴ This makes perfect sense if one identifies the woman standing behind Agrippa (incidentally also the first woman behind Augustus and the female leader of the procession) as Livia, not Julia. As Bartman points out, “Despite their physical distancing, however, Augustus and Livia are joined by their display of the same attributes—of the more than ninety figures on the Ara Pacis, they alone are depicted *capitibus velatis* and wearing laurel wreaths.”³⁵ Those who identify the woman as Julia base this identification upon that of Agrippa, as well as the presence of a small child in barbarian dress tugging on Agrippa’s toga.³⁶ However, there is a hand on the princeling’s head which does not belong to the woman standing behind him. The two figures seem unconnected. It seems thus illogical to identify the woman as Julia, who would most likely be depicted in a more matronly fashion if this were her son Gaius. Moreover, the figures directly behind Tiberius can be fairly securely identified as the elder Drusus and his wife Antonia. Based upon this, it seems only logical that Tiberius should be placed between Agrippa, Augustus’ right-hand man, and the elder Drusus, the Pollux to Tiberius’ Castor.³⁷

Either way, the implication is clear that Tiberius was an integral part of the Augustan plan. If Tiberius is the man directly in front of Augustus, as Polacco suggests, he is prominently displayed. If, as I believe to be the case, Tiberius is the first man behind Agrippa, his place in the Augustan hierarchy is well-stated. Agrippa had been Augustus’ right-hand man. Upon the death of the former, Tiberius was expected to play the same role. Marrying Julia, the widow of Agrippa, was a symbolic assent to this new

³⁴ *Studies in Augustan Historical Reliefs* 19ff.

³⁵ *Portraits of Livia* 88.

³⁶ The identification of this woman as Julia has been widely rejected, but has found its supporters in the past. See Pollini, *Studies* 155 n. 80.

³⁷ Torelli, *Typology & structure of Roman historical reliefs* 49ff. also adopts this arrangement, as do others.

position as Augustus' assistant, but not necessarily his successor. It was this ambiguity and tension that presumably led to Tiberius' self-imposed exile. It was this confidence, displayed publicly on the Ara Pacis, that led to Tiberius' recall.

I should make brief mention of an altar to the Lares found in the Vicus Sandaliarius which depicts Augustus in his role as Pontifex Maximus accompanied by Livia on his right and another togate male on his left (Figure 3.10). Polacco identifies this figure as Tiberius, primarily based upon the presence of Livia.³⁸ Based on the inscription, however, the altar can be dated to 2 B.C., a time when Tiberius was in "exile" on Rhodes. The identification of the figure as one of Augustus' grandsons seems far more likely, as Pollini has shown.³⁹

Before moving on, I should also discuss a set of relief panels now housed in the Louvre which suggest a monument commemorating the *lustrum* completed by Augustus and Tiberius shortly before the death of the former (Figure 3.11).⁴⁰ One of the panels depicts a togate, veiled male figure preparing to make a sacrifice at an altar shaded by a laurel tree. The second panel exhibits a second altar by another laurel tree. The sacrifice which is being depicted is that of the *suovetaurilia*, that is the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull, which held a position of great importance in Roman religion. Based upon stylistic evidence, as well as the nature of the sacrifice, Kleiner has identified this as a celebration of the closing of the *lustrum* of 14 A.D. What adds further weight to her arguments that the panels commemorate a joint sacrifice made by Tiberius and Augustus is the presence of twin laurel trees. While laurel trees may have been significant in Roman religion prior to the reign of Augustus, their importance to Augustus was highly

³⁸ *Volto* 74ff.

³⁹ *Studies* 304ff.

⁴⁰ See Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* 141ff.

publicized by the planting of matching trees on either side of the entrance to his house on the Palatine.⁴¹ If this pair of panels does commemorate this *lustrum*, it would presumably have decorated a public monument honoring the imperial household. As Kleiner points out, “State relief is carved as a complement to public architecture, and Tiberius was not a great builder of monuments.”⁴² Instead of speculating on the possible monument to which these panels belonged (the exact find spot is unknown), we should instead note that the subject matter on a Tiberian monument stressed his link to Augustus in a setting focused upon religious ceremony.

Aside from these very public displays of relief sculpture, we should also here discuss one of a more private nature. One of the most frequently discussed statues of Augustus, the so-called Prima Porta statue, found in the garden of Livia’s villa *ad gallinas albas* seems to bridge the gap between public and private honorific statuary (Figure 3.12).⁴³ The statue is a typical Roman cuirassed statue, perhaps a copy of an earlier bronze statue erected in a public setting.⁴⁴ The classicizing depiction of Augustus reflects the most commonly found portrait type, dating to the earlier years of his reign, perhaps as early as 27 B.C.⁴⁵ This statue has become the standard by which portraits of Augustus of this type have been judged. There are many posthumous examples of this

⁴¹ On this point see Alföldi, *Die Zwei Lorbeerbaume*.

⁴² *Roman Sculpture* 141.

⁴³ On the unity of the message presented by the statue and its location at Livia’s villa, see Reeder, “The statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, the underground complex, and the omen of the *gallina alba*,” *AJP* 118 (1997) 89-118.

⁴⁴ See Pollini, *Studies* 44ff. On cuirassed statues in general, see Vermeule, “Hellenistic and Roman cuirassed statues,” *Berytus* 13 (1960) 1-153.

⁴⁵ On the possible origin and date of the Prima Porta type, see Boschung, *Die Bildnesse des Augustus*, 51ff., and Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog* 3ff.

portrait type and it remained popular long after his death.⁴⁶ But the statue itself seems to have been erected during Augustus' reign, and has given scholars much to debate.

This leads to the question of date. Recently Grieco has argued for an early Tiberian date. He sees the statue as a move by Tiberius to counter the glory being won by the increasingly popular Germanicus.⁴⁷ Based on the imagery of the Grand Camée, which we shall soon examine, I find this suggestion rather unlikely. Augustus' bare feet have led some to see the statue as posthumous. Typically only gods or heroes were depicted as unshod. However, there are precedents for shoeless humans in Hellenistic sculpture.⁴⁸ It should also be remembered that this sculpture stood in a private villa which would probably only be frequented by members of the court. It seems best to date the statue as roughly contemporary with the Boscoreale Cups and the Gemma Augustea, that is to say, as Augustan. Whether it was erected before or after Tiberius' exile is impossible to confirm, but it fits the general program which we have already seen will continue into the reign of Tiberius, namely celebrating Augustus as the source of Roman Victoria.

As we mentioned, the statue is a typical cuirassed statue in many respects, with the exception that Augustus appears barefoot. While a heroizing nude statue was not uncommon in the late Republic, nor a cuirassed military portrait, the combination of the two images is seen here for the first time.⁴⁹ Because the statue depicts Augustus as unshod, hence in a heroic, Hellenistic fashion, some have seen the statue as a

⁴⁶ See Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* 38ff. et passim.

⁴⁷ "A propos la statue d'Auguste de Prima Porta: confirmation de la thèse de la création tibérienne par l'analyse de certains traits caractéristiques de cette statue symbolique," *Latomus* 38 (1979) 147-164. His conjecture is based solely upon literary evidence.

⁴⁸ On the bare feet and their insignificance in dating the statue, see Pollini, *Studies* 41ff.

⁴⁹ On nude honorific statuary in the late Republic, see Zanker, *The Power of Images* 5ff.

representation of the divinity he vehemently denied publicly up until his death. It is true that coins issued before Actium had depicted the then Octavian as unshod in military costume, but as we have shown, Augustus took great pains to distance himself from that image (Figure 3.13).⁵⁰ It should also be noted that these coins were issued in the east, while the statue of Prima Porta was found not too far from Rome. Nevertheless, the location of the statue in the villa of Livia, as well as the iconography of the relief on the breastplate indicate that perhaps the best explanation is that the statue was a copy of a public image adapted to private imperial interests.

Because the statue is so important in the study of Augustan iconography, there is a great deal of conjecture concerning the identification of figures on the breastplate worn by Augustus (Figure 3.14). While few would disagree that the breastplate commemorates the recovery of the Parthian standards, many have postulated various identities for the figure receiving the standards. The figure is dressed in Roman military costume and is accompanied by a canine, probably a camp dog. Some have seen this figure as Mars, others as the Genius of the Roman army.⁵¹ But based upon a passage in Suetonius, some, including Polacco, have argued that the figure on the breastplate can be identified as Tiberius.

Suetonius tells us in his life of Tiberius, *Recepit et signa, quae M. Crasso ademerant Parthi* (9.1). Unfortunately, this evidence is uncorroborated by either Dio Cassius or Velleius Paterculus. Although Dio probably drew on sources hostile to Tiberius, Velleius seems to have missed a golden opportunity to praise his *imperator*. Moreover, even in Suetonius, the role played by Tiberius is minor. If Suetonius, as has

⁵⁰ BMCRE 609. This coin is mentioned by Pollini, *Studies* 41, who presents it as evidence for the depiction of Augustus without distinguishing between the methods of Octavian and the position of Augustus.

⁵¹ See Pollini, *Studies* 15ff.

been presumed, drew mainly upon imperial documents as his source, this would explain his inclusion of Tiberius in the return of the standards. Tiberius was the emissary, receiving the standards to be passed on to Augustus. Velleius (2.91) mentions the return of the standards from Parthia in connection with the conferment of the title Augustus, which is firmly dated to 27 B.C. The date for the return of the Parthian standards is typically given as 20 B.C. Under Velleius' list of items for the year 20, however, he includes the reception by Tiberius of members of the Parthian royal family as hostages (2.46). Suetonius does not include Tiberius in his mention of the handing over of the Parthian standards in his life of Augustus, but lists the action as one of the conquests achieved *partim ductu partim auspiciis suis*. Moreover, Suetonius lists the handing over of the standards with the handing over of the hostages (*Aug.* 21). If Tiberius received the hostages, it seems only logical that he received the standards as well. Any omission on the part of ancient historians of his name in conjunction with Augustus' "victory" over the Parthians probably results from the insignificance of the diplomatic role played by a military man like Tiberius. Tiberius had enough real victories to his credit, and as we shall see, they were all ascribed to the *Victoria Augusti*.

Kiss and Polacco both argue for the possibility of identifying the figure as Tiberius on iconographic grounds as well.⁵² My own personal inspection of the statue as it was being restored suggested to me the figure could be identified as Tiberius. Since he is wearing a helmet, it is impossible to use the arrangement of his hair as a clue to determine identity. However, the facial profile matches the known portraits of the future emperor at this time. Most noticeable is the prominent chin which is the hallmark of the Claudian line. Also, the projection of the upper lip over the lower gives further cause for

⁵² Kiss, *L'iconographie* 71ff.; Polacco, *Volto* 159ff.

identifying the figure as Tiberius. Polacco lists other reasons for the identification as well, including the iconography identifying the soldier with the twentieth legion, Valeria Victrix.⁵³ This legion received its standards from Tiberius and was a “favorite” of his.⁵⁴

Perhaps the most convincing argument, however, in favor of the identification of the soldier as Tiberius is the find spot. Livia’s villa at Prima Porta was famous in antiquity as the site where she received the omen of the white chicken.⁵⁵ The sprig of laurel carried by the hen became the source for the grove of laurel from which the imperial triumphal crowns were made. The connection of the villa to Victoria Augusti was thus established from its early history. That Livia would wish to erect a statue honoring Augustus which alluded to her son at the same time makes perfect sense. The ideology represented through such a depiction would be parallel to that we shall observe on the Boscoreale cups and the Gemma Augustea. Tiberius is the agent of Victoria under the auspices of Augustus.

Indeed, we might look at the Prima Porta statue as the manifestation of this hierarchy by which the victories of Tiberius and his brother Drusus were attributed to Augustus. This relationship is epitomized in Horace’s fourth book of *Odes*. In the fourth poem of this book, Horace sings the praises of Drusus, who has recently triumphed over the Rhaetians, but it is clear that the military prowess which enabled victory was that, *rite quid indoles/ nutrita faustis sub penetralibus/ posset, quid Augusti paternus/ in pueros animus Nerones* (4.4. 25-28). This hierarchy is expressed even more explicitly in the

⁵³ *Volto* 163ff.

⁵⁴ According to Tac. *Ann.* 1.42.5, Germanicus addresses the mutinying troops as such: “*Primane et vicesima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, hunc tam, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? Hunc ergo nuntium patri, laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos?*”

⁵⁵ Suet. *Galba* 1.

fourteenth ode. The poem opens with a dedication to Augustus, under whose auspices Drusus and Tiberius have tamed the world. Although the two Claudii Neroni have done the fighting, it is through Augustus that the entire world has come under the power of Rome. Thus if the breastplate of Prima Porta depicts the submission of the Parthians to Tiberius, the statue itself celebrates the Victoria of Augustus.

3. Decorative pieces

This concept of Victoria Augusti played a central role in later Julio-Claudian ideology. We have seen it displayed on the statue of Augustus at Prima Porta while Augustus was still living. We should now examine the way this hierarchy continued to be observed after his death. It should be noted, however, that this iconography had to be adapted to allow for the glorification of the next generation. Tiberius as reigning emperor had to find his place as the connection between the charismatic reign of Augustus and the future of the dynasty. The reinvention of Victoria Augusti was of vital importance to the preservation of the principate. As Ando points out, although Victoria had previously been used by other generals to increase their personal charisma, “The incarnation of Augustan victoriousness as Augustan Victory attached such charisma as flowed from military achievement to the office that Augustus had endowed, and it remained there for his successor to bank or to lose.”⁵⁶ This transformation of the ideology of Victoria Augusti is preserved on reliefs of a smaller scale found on metalwork and gemstones.

Let us first examine, then, a pair of silver cups which were found in 1895 in the excavations of a villa in the area around Mount Vesuvius commonly known as

⁵⁶ *Imperial Ideology* 278.

Bosc coreale (Figure 3.15.a-d).⁵⁷ Found among other pieces of silver, the cups are *skyphoi*, presumably to be used on special occasions. Such drinking cups generally came in pairs in the ancient world. As Baratte points out, “Une remarque préliminaire est nécessaire. Comme il est de règle dans la vaisselle d’argent de la fin de la République et du début de l’Empire, les deux coupes forment une paire.”⁵⁸ Furthermore, as if the societal norm were not enough to distinguish the two cups as a pair, the iconography clearly indicates that they were meant to be seen as such.

As decorative items, these cups would have been privately owned, presumably by someone who was connected to the imperial court. While we have no evidence for the possible owners of these cups, they were found in Campania, and display an exceptional concern with detail. Unlike other similar silver cups, their subject matter reflects historical, non-mythological events. As Kuttner states, “Not only the subjects represented but also the figure types used are unparalleled in luxury metalwork.”⁵⁹ Thus, the message of the cups as a pair must be viewed in its totality.

The two cups have come to be nicknamed the “Augustus cup” and the “Tiberius cup,” as they feature scenes of each of the two men respectively. The Augustus cup, also known as BR 1, depicts two separate scenes, each focusing on a seated Augustus. On one side, he is depicted as sitting on a camp stool among his lictors. He is receiving a party of conquered barbarians, including their infant children. They are accompanied by

⁵⁷ The recent work of Kuttner, *Dynasty and empire in the age of Augustus: the case of the of the Bosc coreale Cups*, has brought the analysis of these two cups and their relationship to imperial iconography to the forefront of studies in imperial art. Admittedly the present discussion draws heavily upon her work.

⁵⁸ “Arts Précieux et propagande impériale au début de l’Empire Romain: l’exemple des deux coupes de Bosc coreale,” *R Louvre* 41 (1991) 34ff. See also Kuttner, *Dynasty* 9ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 3ff.

a Roman soldier, commonly identified as Drusus the Elder.⁶⁰ The scene appears to be historical, and presumably refers to the conquests made by Tiberius and his brother in Gaul and Germany under the *auspices* of Augustus between 13 and 9 B.C., before the death of Drusus. Kuttner rightly proposes that the scene, “shows the *primores Galliarum* before Augustus in Gaul in 13 (or 10) B.C. at Lugdunum.”⁶¹

The other side of the Augustus cup depicts Augustus seated, this time on a seat resembling a *sella curulis*. He is facing allegorical figures commonly identified as Roma and Venus accompanied by Cupid. Venus is presenting a *victoriola* to Augustus. Along with these is a figure identified by Kuttner as the Genius of the Roman People. Behind Augustus is Mars, who is leading the personifications of conquered provinces. What is remarkable about this relief is that Augustus is featured among divine personages. It is this mingling of human and divine which has compelled some to reject the theory that these cups may have originally been based upon monumental art in Rome. But as Kuttner argues, Augustus is depicted not semi-nude, as we shall see him portrayed on cameos, but wearing the toga of a Roman magistrate.⁶² Perhaps, these cups do reflect a series of relief panels from a public monument. Although we cannot speculate further on the monument, the message they would have conveyed is worth exploring.

Like the first side of the Augustus cup, the Tiberius cup depicts historical events. Or at least presumably so. One side of the cup depicts Tiberius making a sacrifice before he heads off to war, while the other side depicts him returning in triumph. These two events have faced much scrutiny by scholars who have attempted to identify the exact

⁶⁰ The cups were severely damaged sometime after their discovery. The figure of the soldier identified as Drusus is now missing, but photographs taken in the early part of the century have allowed this identification.

⁶¹ *Dynasty* 100.

⁶² *Ibid.* 35ff.

triumph which is being celebrated. The presence of Drusus the Elder on the Augustus cup has led many, Kuttner among them, to identify the events on the cups as taking place before his death. She convincingly argues (chapter 8) that the position of Tiberius and Drusus after the adoption of Gaius and Lucius has been highly undervalued by modern scholars. Kuttner is correct in this regard, but it should also be remembered, as we noted in chapter 2, that Tiberius made dedications in 6 A.D. (Castor and Pollux) and 10 A.D. (Concordia) in the name of himself and his brother although the latter had been dead for about twenty years.

Instead of trying to date the cups, let us instead note that their depiction of Tiberius differs radically from that of Augustus. By examining the difference, we shall see a pattern that will continue until the very end of Tiberius' reign. Even when Tiberius is holding the position of Imperator after the death of Augustus, the victory always belongs to the latter. That Tiberius is merely an adjunct of Augustus is made perfectly clear in the scene depicting his triumph on BR 2. First of all, as Kuttner points out, Tiberius is riding in the same chariot Augustus used in his triumph of 27 B.C.⁶³ Secondly, behind Tiberius stands a *servus publicus*, whose job it was to remind the triumphator of his mortality—i.e., to keep him humble. As Kuttner notes, “The *servus publicus*'s task was traditional and necessary; this depiction of the *servus publicus* is extraordinary and unique. Nowhere else in Republican or imperial art do we see this shadowy figure...”⁶⁴

Kuttner uses this as evidence to date the cups to the reign of Augustus by arguing, “I find it impossible to believe that an artist executing a commission for a ‘Tiberius cup’

⁶³ Ibid. 147.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 149.

while Tiberius was emperor would have failed to omit the sordid detail of the presence of the public slave, let alone transform that uncrowned servant into a suitable allegorical figure.”⁶⁵ While I agree that the cups are probably Augustan in date, I believe Kuttner’s statement greatly misrepresents the iconography of Tiberius as the mere agent of Augustan Victoria both before and during his own reign. While Tiberius may have eventually assumed the role of emperor, throughout his reign he consistently is depicted in both private and public art as inferior to Augustus. Indeed, as we observed in the literary reference from Dio, Tiberius strove to be *demokratikos* in his self-depiction. A public slave would be the perfect image to symbolize the *moderatio* for which Tiberius wanted to be known, as well as providing the perfect contrast between the mortal Tiberius and the divine (if not yet deified) Augustus.

By comparison, another metal object, commonly called the Sword of Tiberius, depicts Tiberius receiving Germanicus as *triumphator* and probably was created to commemorate the latter’s recovery of the standards lost by Varus. The bronze relief on this sword sheath found in Germany and now in the British Museum depicts a seated, semi-togate Tiberius receiving a victoriola from a youthful soldier commonly identified as Germanicus (Figure 3.16). He is leaning on a shield with the inscription “Felicitas Tiberi.” Behind him stands a full-sized Victory, bearing a shield inscribed “Vic(toria) Aug(usti).” The hierarchy denoted by these inscriptions is well summarized by Gagé, whose article “La Victoria Augusti et les auspices de Tibère” illustrates that the victories won under Tiberius were repeatedly referred back to Augustus. He states, “Il [Germanicus] en fait hommage à Tibère, non par modestie filiale ni soumission de lieutenant, mais parce qu’en fait cette victoire ne lui appartient pas. Elle lui est venue de

⁶⁵ Ibid. 151-2.

Tibère; mais Tibère même n'en était pas la vraie source: la victoire est descendue d'Auguste.”⁶⁶

The imagery of the sheath locates Tiberius as the emperor, but indicates that Augustus was still controlling the victory of the Roman army. Felicitas is a passive virtue, namely, good luck. The victory of Augustus assures Tiberius' good luck. As Wistrand points out, in the words of Cicero it would be inconsistent, *si qui, cum aliquem volet laudare, de felicitate eius, non de virtute dicat* (*De inventione* 1.58.94).⁶⁷ Gagé likewise asserts, “La Felicitas est une notion voisine de Fortuna et apparentée aussi à Victoria, mais de sens plus passif. Elle convient au prince qui refuse les honneurs trop divins et ne peut renoncer pourtant à une situation surhumaine.”⁶⁸

The message depicted on the sheath is then clear, but who was the intended audience? The sword was found in Mainz and appears to have come from a soldier who fought with Germanicus, presumably in the campaign to recover the standards lost by Varus in 9 A.D. Victorine von Gonzenbach, in her study, “Tiberische Gürtel- und Schwertscheidenbeschläge mit figürlichen Reliefs,” sees these decorative pieces functioning as key pieces of propaganda among the soldiers of Tiberius.⁶⁹ As we discussed in the introductory chapter, the soldiers used the change of ruler as an excuse to rebel. It was important for Tiberius to maintain a strong public image among the soldiers, who would become increasingly important politically to the history of the empire. The imagery of this sheath locates Germanicus as subordinate to Tiberius, and Tiberius as subordinate to and drawing his power from Augustus. The charisma of

⁶⁶ *RA* 32 (1930) 13-14.

⁶⁷ *Felicitas imperatoria* 38.

⁶⁸ “Victoria” 14.

⁶⁹ In *Helvetia Antiqua: Festschrift Emil Vogt* 183-208.

Augustus would continue to dominate the influence of the emperor over the army, leading to the election of Claudius, the great-nephew of Augustus, in aftermath of the assassination of Caligula.

That Tiberius derived his good fortune from the charisma of Augustus is depicted not only in drinking cups and sword decoration, but on decorative gemstones as well. Two cameos, one in Vienna and one in Paris, depict the hierarchy of charismatic fortune both while Augustus was living and after his death. In the upper register of the first of these, the so-called Gemma Augustea, Tiberius descends from a triumphal chariot to pay his respects to the seated Augustus (Figure 3.17).⁷⁰ Between them is a youthful soldier identified as Germanicus. As on the Boscoreale cups, Augustus is surrounded by allegorical figures reflecting the prosperity of Augustan Rome. This time, however, he is depicted semi-nude in a divinizing posture. Seated to his left is the goddess Roma, and to his right are (arguably) Tellus and Okeanus. Also to his right and holding a golden crown over his head is a female figure representing Oikumene, the inhabited world. And as if the viewer were not certain that this charismatic figure is Augustus, over the scene hangs the image of his lunar birth sign, Capricorn.⁷¹

In the lower of the two fields, a trophy is being erected by soldiers amidst conquered barbarians. The shield included in the trophy depicts Scorpio, the (solar) birth sign of Tiberius.⁷² Instead of trying to identify these barbarians and firmly date the scene

⁷⁰ Megow, *Kameen A10*, 155-163, with bibliography. For excellent full-color photos, see Kähler's edition of *Alberti Rubeni dissertatio de Gemma Augustea*.

⁷¹ There is a star near the depiction of Capricorn which could be seen as the comet which brought Julius Caesar to the heavens, but as we mentioned in the second chapter, this star became just as much a symbol of the new age as of Divus Julius.

⁷² The birth sign of Augustus if calculated as is usually done, by noting the position of the sun at the time of his birth, is actually Libra. However, at his birth the moon was in the sign of Capricorn, and this is the sign by which Augustus chose to advertise his birth. On the other hand, while the solar sign of Tiberius is Scorpio, his lunar birth sign is Libra, which may explain the varying calculations in choices of signs.

depicted in the stone, perhaps it would be better to view it as a representation of the various victories won by Germanicus and Tiberius under the auspices of Augustus. Once again, the hierarchy is enforced: Tiberius is triumphing, Germanicus holds the promise of the future, and Augustus is the source of their victories.

But even after the death of Augustus, his charisma continued to dominate honorific art. A cameo now in Paris, often referred to as the Grand Camée, depicts a similar scene of a young officer presenting himself in triumph to the emperor (Figure 3.18).⁷³ While the debate rages as to the identity of the young officer and the other figures in the middle register of the cameo, there is general agreement that the seated emperor is Tiberius and that the woman to his left is Livia. Once again, as on the Gemma Augustea, the lower register depicts conquered peoples. What is striking however, is that in addition to these two registers which correspond nicely to the Gemma Augustea, an additional register is included above, featuring in its center Divus Augustus. The crowned figure of Divus Augustus holding a *lituus* dominates the entire cameo. He is accompanied by Cupid and by other figures whose identifications remain debatable. It should be remembered, that there was no image of Divus Iulius on the Gemma Augustea which would compare to the position here taken by Divus Augustus.

Aside from the questions regarding identification of the other figures in this cameo, there is general consensus that the image depicted reflects the transference of Augustan charisma during the reign of Tiberius. Some have argued that the cameo itself has a later Claudian dating. While Tiberius may have enjoyed a reprieve from unofficial

Tiberius would hardly wish to usurp Augustus' rightful birth sign. This does, of course, cause some confusion in the astronomical poets, especially Manilius. See Housman, "Manilius, Augustus, Tiberius, Capricornus, and Libra," *CQ* 7 (1913) 109-114.

⁷³ Megow, *Kameen* A85, 202ff. For the identifications by various scholars of the different figures, see Jucker, "Der Grosse Pariser Kameo: eine Huldigung an Agrippina, Claudius und Nero," *Jdl* 91 (1976) 249.

damnatio memoriae under the reign of Claudius, the cameo seems too symbolic of Tiberian iconography not to be of Tiberian dating. The main grounds used by Jucker and Megow to date the piece to Claudius' reign are stylistic, but on examination, regrettably of photos and not the Gemma Augustea and Grand Camée themselves, I see no differences that cannot be explained through their attribution to different ateliers. Even if it is Claudian, the hierarchy remains the same.

Thus, just as in art displayed publicly, in decorative pieces presumably intended for a small audience of elite members of the court and officers in the Roman army, the image of Tiberius as ruling through the charisma of Augustus is continually promoted throughout his reign. He was not merely drawing on the precedent set by Octavian, who had used the image of Julius Caesar to establish his power. Indeed, we have seen how quickly an image can disappear once it has ceased to be useful. Tiberius consistently promoted the image of Augustus from the beginning to the end of his reign. What we see here is the routinization of Augustan charisma in both public and private art as justification for the rule of uncharismatic Tiberius and the continuation of the dynasty.

B. Coinage

Just as in the case of other artistic media, the amount of authority exerted by the emperor over the various mints remains subject to debate among modern scholars. However, coinage is much easier to work with than statuary in that it is explicitly a public document, and therefore would require some sort of governmental approval.⁷⁴ Coins from the mint of Rome in particular can be seen as an expression of the messages which

⁷⁴ On the difficulty of assigning responsibility for the choice of coin types see especially Sutherland, "The personality of the mints under the Julio-Claudian emperors," *AJP* 68 (1947) 47-63, Wallace-Hadrill, "The emperor and his virtues," *Historia* 30 (1981) 298-323, and Levick, "Propaganda and the imperial coinage," *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 104-116.

the emperor wished to transmit to his subjects. As Ando points out, later writers such as Suetonius found the issues of the mint to be ultimately the responsibility of the emperor. He reasons, “What is more, their diction just as often indicates either that they regarded that responsibility as an imperial prerogative or, conversely, that they believed coins reflected the immediate political and propagandistic interests of the court.”⁷⁵ Likewise, as in the case of statuary, the issues from Rome were probably used, along with official edicts (which we will deal with in the next section), as the basis for provincial coinage. While under Augustus there is a great deal of variation in types throughout the empire, the coinage under Tiberius becomes rather uniform. The main issues involve images of the emperor, his mother, his two sons, and of course, Divus Augustus Pater.⁷⁶

We have already mentioned in the previous chapter that the only temples to appear on official Tiberian coinage are those of Concordia, recalling the harmony of the imperial family, and of Vesta, manifesting the emperor’s role as Pontifex Maximus. The significance of Concordia in the reign of Tiberius has already been discussed, but here we should go into greater detail about the importance of the temple of Vesta. The cult of Vesta had always been important to the security of the Roman Empire. As we observed in chapter 2, it was Julius Caesar’s role as the Pontifex Maximus, the chief priest of the Vestals which prompted the divine vengeance unleashed upon his assassins. Augustus placed such great emphasis on this priesthood that he refused to oust Lepidus from the position and waited until 12 B.C., the fifteenth anniversary of the *res publica restituta* and the assumption of the name Augustus, to assume the high priesthood. Likewise

⁷⁵ *Imperial Ideology* 216.

⁷⁶ The hypothesis put forth especially by Sutherland (*Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* 91ff.) that Sejanus was responsible for Tiberian issues up to the time of his downfall is untenable. As Martin proclaims (*Providentia Deorum* 110), “Il serait inconcevable que Tibère, même éloigné volontairement en Campanie et à Capri, ait laissé Séjan faire sa propre propagande.”

Tiberius, despite his reputed neglect of the gods (Suet. *Tib.* 69), respectfully waited until several months after his assumption of power to take on this role.

The commemoration of the cult of Vesta on a Tiberian coin, particularly if it is associated with the worship of Divus Augustus, emphasizes the importance of the cult not only to the Roman Empire, but to the *domus divina* of Augustus. The security of the *res publica* had become inextricably enmeshed with the security of the *domus divina*. It is known from the Feriale Cumanum that supplications were made to Vesta on the birthdays of Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, and Tiberius.⁷⁷ Moreover, the cult of the Vestals was fundamental to the Aeternitas of the Empire. Hence it makes perfect sense that under Tiberius colonial coins were issued at Tarraco and Emerita with the legend AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE (Figure 2.12).⁷⁸ It should also be mentioned that the obverse of these coins depicts the temple of Augustus and the legend DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.

Likewise it is significant that while Augustan coins advertised the emperor's descent from Venus Genetrix and Mars Ultor, as well as his patronage by Jupiter Tonans, Apollo, Diana, and other gods of the Roman pantheon, official Tiberian coinage emphatically depicts only one god—Divus Augustus. While Tiberian virtues such as Clementia, Iustitia, and Moderatio, as well as other abstractions such as Victoria and Pax are depicted on Tiberian issues, none of the Augustan deities receive similar advertisement.

On local issues throughout the provinces the message of Augustus continued to be spread under Tiberius, as local mints issued coins with the same reverses as before.

⁷⁷ *ILS* 108. Cited by Charlesworth, "Providentia and aeternitas," *HThR* 29 (1936) 124.

⁷⁸ *RPC* 29 (Emerita); 219, 222 (Tarraco). See Grant, *Aspects* 83ff.

Among the most striking of these continuations in both the official and local issues is the promotion of Augustus' birth sign Capricorn. We have already seen on the Gemma Augustea the prominence of Augustus' sign, as well as its dominance over Tiberius' chosen sign of Scorpio. While issues in the reign of Tiberius continue to depict Augustan Capricorn, the only coin in either official or local coinage depicting Scorpio is an *aes* issue from Cyprus, cautiously dated by Burnett as late Augustan, which pairs the two signs back to back (Figure 3.19).⁷⁹

Another example of the persistence in Tiberian imagery of Augustan Victoria is the fact that while coins throughout the reign of Augustus depict him as a military victor (despite the fact that his greatest successes were won by generals other than himself), Tiberius, perhaps the most successful general of his time, refrained from depicting himself in a military fashion on his own coins. With the exception of a series of coins minted at Lugdunum in the last years of the reign of Augustus and an issue in the first year of Tiberius' reign (Figure 3.20), Tiberius was not depicted in a triumphal chariot on his own coinage.⁸⁰ Rather, the idea of victory is rather conveyed by a Victory holding a wreath and seated on a globe. This reverse was first seen on Augustan coins from Lugdunum and was presumably a revival of the Augustan type (Figure 3.21).⁸¹ Victory was also commemorated on Tiberian coinage by an empty chariot (Figure 3.22), or by a quadriga pulled by elephants and carrying Divus Augustus (Figure 2.11).⁸²

⁷⁹ *RPC* 3916.

⁸⁰ Augustan *BMCRE* 508-510, *RIC* 221-224; Tiberian *BMCRE* 2-6, *RIC* 1-4.

⁸¹ Augustan *BMCRE* 504-505 (1-9 A.D.), *RIC* 184, 202, 213-218; Tiberian *BMCRE* 12-27 (15-37 A.D.), *RIC* 5-21. On the Victory types of Augustus, see Bellinger and Berlincourt, *Victory as a Coin Type* 54ff. The Victory type of Tiberius earns one paragraph (56), commenting on Tiberius as, "preferring to present himself as the heir of Augustus' policies as well as his powers."

⁸² Empty Chariot: *BMCRE* 113-15, 130-1, *RIC* 54, 60, 66; Augustus drawn by elephants: *BMCRE* 108, 125-8, *RIC* 56, 62, 68.

Indeed, the continuity in coin imagery from late Augustan to early Tiberian mintings makes dating some issues rather difficult. Nowhere is this inheritance more apparent than in the official coins from Lugdunum which depict the altar of Roma and Augustus. These coins can be dated by the titles of the two emperors, but the continuity of the issue expresses the desire to maintain the status quo in coinage.

Another Augustan image preserved on Tiberian coins is the seated Livia type. These coins are the reverse of issues heralding Divus Augustus Pater or Tiberius as Pontifex Maximus. As we mentioned above in chapter 2, this seated female figure is not explicitly identified, but exhibits the features of Livia. Livia held the same position as a Vestal Virgin having been granted the same privileges, and her portrayal in vestal guise links her to the Pontifex Maximus coins. Her association with the legend Divus Augustus Pater emphasized her role as the chief priestess of the cult of Augustus. The identification can be made by comparing a provincial coinage from Pella which does name her as IVLIA AVGVSTA (Figure 3.23).⁸³ That she was not specifically identified on official coinage by her new adoptive name, Julia Augusta, preserved the *moderatio* of the ruling emperor, while also highlighting her position as the connecting tie between the charismatic Augustus and her own son Tiberius

Moreover, the implied but not overt identification of Livia exemplifies Tiberius' attitude towards honors for his mother.⁸⁴ Although he realized the necessity of utilizing her popularity as the widow, and now daughter of Augustus, Tiberius refrained from promoting her to the divine status of his adoptive father. As Grant summarizes regarding these issues from both the official and local mints, "This publicity directed much of its

⁸³ *RPC* 3919. See also Grant, *Aspects* 117.

⁸⁴ For a balanced view of Tiberius' relationship with his mother and his reluctance to show her undue honors, see Bartman, *Portraits* 108ff.

attention, not to the suppression of Livia's glory—far from it—but to her presentation as priestess, rather than as goddess or empress.”⁸⁵ Sutherland's review of Grant's *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius* notes Grant's views regarding the impetus for local coinage as stemming from a confluence of Roman influence and local sentiment and concludes, “It will explain also the comparative ubiquity of the ‘seated Livia’ type which, common on Roman *aes*, was seized upon widely as a vehicle to express the immense veneration in which Livia was held in the rôles (admirably argued by Grant) of *sacerdos divi Augusti* and heiress to the Roman Vestal tradition...”⁸⁶

This advertisement of the imperial family and the charismatic *domus Augusta* can be seen in the official and unofficial coins of other members of the Julio-Claudian line. Although no official coins bear the image of Germanicus, and coins bearing the image of Drusus the Younger were issued only in the last year of his life, the charisma of the two princes was prominently publicized throughout the provinces. The pairing of princes, modeled on the promotion of Gaius and Lucius, carried over to the iconography of Germanicus and Drusus, as well as that of Drusus and Nero, the sons of Germanicus.

The fact that no official coins were issued depicting Germanicus could be seen as evidence supporting the literary bias that Germanicus was not well-liked by his uncle and adoptive father. And yet the literary sources also agree that until the death of Germanicus, Tiberius had treated both his adopted son and his natural son as equals.⁸⁷ Why then no Germanicus coin among the official issues? The answer may perhaps be found in the fact that apparently no coins were minted at Rome between 17 and 22 A.D.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Aspects* 117.

⁸⁶ *CR* 1 (1951) 233.

⁸⁷ We shall go into greater depth on this issue in chapter 5.

⁸⁸ Sutherland, “Divus Augustus Pater: a study in the *aes* coinage of Tiberius,” *NC* 6 (1941) 97ff.

In the years 14-17, the mint at Rome issued only coins featuring the seated Livia type. Likewise, the mint at Lugdunum continued to reuse the same altar of Roma and Augustus and seated Livia types. In other words, the Roman mint, which issued coins bearing propaganda geared towards the succession, did not issue coins during the years when Germanicus would have been the strongest contender for succession. Let it be noted that coins promoting Tiberius as Augustus' successor were not minted until at least seven years after his adoption. Furthermore, no official coins featuring Germanicus were ever minted during the reign of Augustus.

Although Germanicus did not receive an official coin under the reign of Tiberius, in the provinces he was widely heralded. Coins of Germanicus minted during the Tiberian era can be found on 21 issues in 13 cities. In tandem with Drusus the younger, Germanicus can be found on the coinage of 5 cities.⁸⁹

The fact that the younger Drusus received his own official coin can be attributed to several factors. First of all, Drusus had received tribunician power in the year before his death. At the time he received this power he was older than Germanicus was when he died, so one cannot say Germanicus would not have eventually received this power. Moreover, Drusus was a pure Claudian by birth. His father Tiberius bore no Julian blood and his mother, Vipsania Agrippina, was the daughter of the hard-working but hardly noble Agrippa. Drusus did not have the charismatic Julian blood that Germanicus did. Drusus needed publicity. Hence, the issue of coins bearing the head of Drusus opposite that of Tiberius, or the head of Drusus opposite the legend PIETAS (Figure 3.24).⁹⁰ The

⁸⁹ See index 4.1 to *RPC*.

⁹⁰ *BMCRE* 98, *RIC* 43.

veiled figure of Pietas indicates a Vestal figure, probably by implication to be identified as Livia, although not explicitly.

Along with the issue of Drusus backed by Pietas come two other issues heralding imperial virtues and featuring a female bust which could be presumed to be Livia. The figure on the issue advertising IVSTITIA closely resembles that of Pietas (Figure 3.25).⁹¹ The other, SALVS AVGVSTA, even more explicitly features Livia and goes so far as to add the epithet Augusta (Figure 3.26).⁹² We know that in the year when these coins were minted, 22-23 A.D., a *supplicatio* was held in honor of the ailing Livia (Tac. *Ann.* 3.65). She is directly named, although not featured physically, on a coin which is undated but presumably from this year featuring a *carpentum* with the legend S.P.Q.R./IVLIAE/AVGVSTAE (Figure 3.27).⁹³

It is interesting to note that all these coins were issued not only in the year in which Livia fell ill, but also in the year when Drusus was coming into his own as the heir to the imperial throne, that is, the year in which he received the all-important tribunician power. Unfortunately for him, however, he had no link whatsoever to Divus Augustus with the exception of his father's adoption into the Julian *gens* and the relationship between Augustus and his grandmother. That coins would emphasize the charismatic role of Livia in the *domus divina* beyond the limits of what typical Tiberian *moderatio* would allow can be explained if one considers that Tiberius was trying to increase the charismatic power of his son and heir.

One further issue from this year should be mentioned which seems to exceed Tiberian *moderatio*. When the communities of Asia were afflicted by an earthquake in

⁹¹ BMCRE 79-80, RIC 46.

⁹² BMCRE 81-84, RIC 47.

⁹³ BMCRE 76-78, RIC 50-51.

the year 17 A.D., Tiberius promised to help the cities to rebuild.⁹⁴ For this he was rewarded with a colossal statue by the grateful cities.⁹⁵ This statue is presumably the image featured on the coin of 23 A.D. with the legend CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTIS (Figure 3.28).⁹⁶ This is the only coin of the reign of Tiberius which advertises a specific act of public munificence. In this same year an issue of the Divus Augustus Pater series featured not the radiate crowned head of the Divus, but a seated figure in front of an altar and wearing a radiate crown.⁹⁷

The resemblance between the two images is striking, but it is clear that Augustus is a god while Tiberius is a mortal holding the *patera* of religious ceremony.⁹⁸ As Lomas points out, Tiberius is depicted in a *sella curulis*, not a throne, wearing a laureate crown, not a radiate one. He adds, “Intencionadamente o no, hay un propósito en Tiberio de mostrarse ante el Imperio romano sin aureola carismática alguna...”⁹⁹ The ambiguity of this coin has been judged inconsistent with Tiberian *moderatio*, but if we consider the need for Tiberius to try to appear more charismatic for his son’s sake in this year in order to lead Drusus out of the shadow of Germanicus, the coin becomes a political masterpiece.

The twin sons of Drusus were also the subject of an issue rich in symbolism. The coin features a *caduceus* flanked by two *cornucopiae*, symbols of Concordia, each capped by the head of an infant (Figure 3.29).¹⁰⁰ This issue can also be dated to the year 23, when Drusus held the tribunician power for the second time. That the children

⁹⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 2.47.

⁹⁵ Phlegon of Tralles 13.

⁹⁶ *BMCRE* 70-72, *RIC* 48.

⁹⁷ *BMCRE* 74-75, *RIC* 49.

⁹⁸ On the similarities and differences between the two figures, see Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues* 66-67.

⁹⁹ “La sinceridad política de Tiberio,” in *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis* 193.

¹⁰⁰ *BMCRE* 95-97, *RIC* 42.

represent the twin sons of Drusus is implied by Drusus' name and titles in the legend on the obverse. The coin was not issued again after the death of Drusus, and it seems that Tiberius' succession policy in the years following his son's death did favor the sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus.

Although they are not featured on official coinage, Nero and Drusus were honored by coins in Utica, Carthago Nova, Caesaraugusta, Tingi, and Cnossus.¹⁰¹ While it can be argued that these coins may have been minted during the reign of Caligula, the coins from Utica can be dated to 27. The remaining coins are reasonably attributed to the reign of Tiberius. While Caligula may have briefly revived the image of his dead brothers, during his reign, the son of Germanicus primarily advertised himself and his sisters.¹⁰²

Thus Tiberian coinage after the death of Germanicus promoted the image of Livia, Drusus, and the twin sons of Drusus. Local coinage likewise displayed the affection felt by citizens and non-citizens alike for the *domus Augusta*. And yet compared to Augustus' promotion of his comrade Agrippa, his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius, and his eventual successor Tiberius, it seems clear that Tiberian coinage looks more to the past than the future for its self-image.¹⁰³ As we mentioned above, the overwhelming majority of Tiberian coins feature Divus Augustus, Livia as the priestess of Augustus, and Tiberius as successor to Augustus and Pontifex Maximus.

Aside from the members of the imperial household, Tiberian coinage advertised not gods and goddesses, or even (for the most part) their temples, as had Augustan

¹⁰¹ *RPC* 731-4, 179, 342-3, 865, 997.

¹⁰² *BMCRE* 44 is the only Caligulan coin honoring his deceased brothers. All others honor Caligula, his parents Germanicus and Agrippina, or the sisters of the emperor.

¹⁰³ It should be noted that there are no official coins bearing the image of Sejanus and the only provincial coin is that from Bilbilis *RPC* 398-99 (see chapter 5).

coinage, but rather a select array of personal virtues. These were Iustitia, Pietas, Salus Augusta, Clementia, Moderatio, and Providentia. As we have already observed, the issues of Iustitia, Pietas, and Salus Augusta were closely linked with the honors granted to Livia and the effort to draw attention to her as the link between Drusus and the charismatic *domus Augusta*. The other virtues, however, are not quite so easy to explain.

First it should be mentioned that Augustus celebrated on his coinage the award of a *clipeus aureus* given to him by the Senate in honor of the *res publica restituta* (Figure 3.30). His *Res Gestae* celebrates this honor and the entire passage invites some scrutiny.

In consulatu sexto et septimo postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate, in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum, et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice, coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est et clipeus aureus in curia Iulia positus quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiaeque iustitiae et pietatis causa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem. Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt. (RG 34)

Thus, the mention of the *clipeus* is affiliated with the rewards for restoring power to the Senate and the people. The most obvious of these honors was the *cognomen* Augustus. The *clipeus virtutis* itself was widely exhibited on Augustan coinage. We shall return to the *corona civica* and its place on Tiberian and Augustan coinage later. Let us focus now on the four virtues inscribed on the shield: *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*.¹⁰⁴

Notably the only virtue inscribed on the shield which does not appear in Tiberian coinage is *virtus*. Tiberius had never celebrated his military victories as his own, as we already have noticed with reference to the Gemma Augustea and the Grand Camée. For Tiberius to include the inherently martial value *virtus* on his coinage would have deprived Augustus of his own *virtus* and military prowess. As Downey noted, “Tiberius

¹⁰⁴ *BMCRE* 316, 321, 322, 333, 353-357, 381-383, 403-409, 416-423.

more soberly repeated three of Augustus' four 'virtues', and it may have been from modesty that he made it clear he did not claim the military quality of *virtus* to which Augustus was entitled through his achievements in the civil wars."¹⁰⁵ Moreover, as Mattingly observes, "Most prominent among the 'Virtues' of an Emperor are Victoria and Virtus, both of them closely associated with Jupiter and therefore especially applicable to his vice-gerent on earth."¹⁰⁶ As we have already seen, Victoria belonged to Augustus, as did Virtus. The absence of this legend then seems understandable.

In addition to the absence of *virtus* from the list of Tiberian virtues appearing above, let it be noted that *moderatio* and *providentia* were not present on the *clipeus virtutis*. Thus there was no Augustan precedent for Tiberius to celebrate these virtues publicly. While Augustus may have wielded *moderatio* and *providentia*, he did not publicly advertise it.

The two issues advertising *clementia* and *moderatio* appear to have been minted at the same time or at least to have been influenced by each other (Figure 3.31-32).¹⁰⁷ Both coins feature the legend written above a *clipeus* with a bust in the middle, surrounded by ornamentation and opposed on either side by the letters S.C., indicating an official coinage. Again, the legend is not printed on the *clipeus* but above it. There have been various theories arguing about the possible date and context for presentation of *clipei* to Tiberius similar to Augustus' *clipeus virtutis*. Likewise, the busts on the shields have been variously identified as Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus the Younger, Nero

¹⁰⁵ "Tiberiana," *ANRW* II.2.103.

¹⁰⁶ "The Roman 'virtues'," *HTHR* 30 (1937) 111.

¹⁰⁷ Clementia: *BMCRE* 85-89, *RIC* 38; Moderatio: *BMCRE* 90, *RIC* 39-40.

and Drusus the sons of Germanicus, and the twin grandsons of Tiberius.¹⁰⁸ To the best of my knowledge, no one has postulated that the bust on this shield is Augustus.

But why not Augustus? There seems to be no evidence for *clipei* featuring other members of the imperial family being commemorated on coins. While the funeral honors decreed to Germanicus and Drusus included *imagines clipeatae*, these were not celebrated in coinage unless we were to include these particular issues. However, an Augustan issue invites closer examination as a possible precedent. In 17 B.C., the year of the Secular Games, a coin was minted under the direction of L. Mescinius Rufus featuring a bust of Augustus on a round shield surrounded by a laurel wreath and the legend around it reading, S.C. OB. R.P. CVM. SALVT. IMP. CAESAR. AVGVVS. CONS (Figure 3.33).¹⁰⁹ On the reverse of some issues of this coin is a *cippus* inscribed IMP/CAES/AVGV/COMM/CONS.¹¹⁰ Grant sees this issue as commemorating “the presentation to Augustus of an *imago clipeata* in 17 or 16 B.C.” and not the *clipeus virtutis* of 27 B.C.¹¹¹ If these *clipei* honoring the *salus* of Augustus and that of the state refer to his escape from danger and his *clementia* and *moderatio* with regard to his enemies as the inscription implies, it makes sense that they would recur in the age of Tiberius, an age riddled with plots against the *domus divina*.

¹⁰⁸ Sutherland posits Tiberius and a date of c. 22 A.D. passim, esp. “Two ‘Virtues’ of Tiberius: a numismatic contribution to the history of his reign,” *JRS* 28 (1938) 129ff. and “The Clementiae and Moderationi dupondii of Tiberius: more thoughts on the chronology,” *NC* 139 (1979) 21ff. Gesche, “Datierung und Deutung der Clementiae - Moderationi - Dupondien des Tiberius,” *JNG* 21 (1971) 37ff., prefers Drusus and Germanicus and posits the coins as following the *clementia* exhibited after the fall of Agrippina the Younger. Galimberti, “‘Clementia’ e ‘moderatio’ in Tiberio,” in *Responsabilità perdono e vendetta nel mondo antico* 175ff., offers Germanicus and Drusus as well, deriving from the language of the *SCPP* that the coins are a celebration of the *clementia* and *moderatio* of the two princes. A thorough discussion of the different viewpoints may be found in Downey, “Tiberiana,” II.2.98ff.

¹⁰⁹ *RIC* 356-357; *BMCRE* 90.

¹¹⁰ Cited as a variant of *BMCRE* 91.

¹¹¹ *Roman Anniversary Issues* 50.

An issue of the Divus Augustus Pater *aes* late in the reign of Tiberius advertising OB/CIV/SER on a *clipeus* flanked by capricorns and surrounded by an oak wreath (Figure 34.a-b) adds further impetus to the hypothesis that the bust on the Tiberian *clipei* is that of Augustus.¹¹² It can only be a conjecture, but these issues could easily have commemorated the half-centenary celebration of the *res publica restituta* in which the *clipeus virtutis* and the *corona civica* were awarded to Augustus. As Grant has demonstrated of similar issues in 7 B.C. featuring the *corona civica* and OB CIVIS SERVATOS, “This was the dedication—made by the Senate and the Roman people (S.P.Q.R.)—which had accompanied the presentation to him in 27 B.C. of the *clipeus virtutis*, which likewise figures on these pieces.”¹¹³ Or these Tiberian coins could have advertised the half-centenary of the Secular Games for which the coin featuring the bust of the living Augustus was issued.¹¹⁴ The issues do seem connected even if not explicitly so. Moreover, the advertisement of *clementia* and *moderatio*, values which implied modesty and humility enforce the passive nature of the continuation of the principate under Tiberius. The issue celebrating the *moderatio* of Tiberius not only advertised his own willingness to subordinate his own image to that of Augustus, but glorified the original return of the Republic to the Senate and people by Augustus in 27 B.C.

The last coin to be addressed publicized a virtue not officially celebrated on coinage under Augustus, namely Providentia. An issue of the undated Divus Augustus Pater series features an altar, or rather an altar precinct, inscribed PROVIDENT and

¹¹² RIC 57, 63, 69; BMCRE 109.

¹¹³ RAI 20.

¹¹⁴ The identification of various Tiberian issues as anniversaries of these dates has been thoroughly studied by Grant, RAI 31ff.

bearing the mark S.C. (Figure 3.35)¹¹⁵ These coins have been dated by Sutherland using die marks, axes, and stylistic features to an extended period from 22-30 A.D.¹¹⁶ Grant remarks that this coin is among the most common coins found from the age of Tiberius, stating, “Issues with this type greatly exceeded all contemporary *aes* coinages in bulk.” Grant cites 420 examples from Rome and over 300 from excavations at Vindonissa.¹¹⁷ The advertisement of not just the value but an altar as well calls for further examination, as does the uniqueness of Providentia to the reign of Tiberius.

Sutherland is not alone in suggesting that, “the altar with PROVIDENT(ia) suggests the divine foresight of Augustus in adopting Tiberius.”¹¹⁸ But Martin, in the most thorough examination of Providentia as an imperial virtue, asserts, “Les monnaies qui portent à l’avers le profil d’Auguste et l’inscription DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER établissent une liaison entre l’empereur vivant et le prince divinisé et, par cet intermédiaire, entre la Providence présente sur le revers et Auguste. Mais nous ne devons pas en conclure trop rapidement qu’il s’agit de la Providence d’Auguste.”¹¹⁹ Martin explains these coins as having been struck during the last years of Tiberius’ reign in celebration of the Providentia which enabled him to thwart the plot of Sejanus and to continue the Julio-Claudian line through the succession of Caligula.

But Martin’s arguments for the later dating of the PROVIDENT(ia) coins stem from their concurrency with coins featuring either TI CAES DIVI AVG F AVGVST P M TR POT XXIII or Agrippa with PROVIDENT and the altar on the reverse. The coins

¹¹⁵ *BMCRE* 146, *RIC* 80, 81

¹¹⁶ “Divus Augustus Pater” 97ff.

¹¹⁷ “The Pattern of Official Coinage,” in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* 108.

¹¹⁸ “Divus Augustus Pater” 116. The concept of *providentia* and its use in Tacitus to describe succession through adoption has been closely examined by Béranger in *Principatus* 331ff.

¹¹⁹ *Providentia Deorum* 122.

bearing the image and legend of Tiberius have been proven by Nicols to have been falsely recorded or to be hybrid imitations.¹²⁰ If this is the case, then there is no way of dating the coins with any security. This in turn undermines Martin's argument that the *providentia* referred to specifically by the coin is that which Tiberius exhibited in the overthrow of Sejanus.

It seems more judicious to concede that while Tiberius did exhibit *providentia* in the overthrow of Sejanus, a fact heralded by Valerius Maximus in his *praefatio*, the official message of the coin bearing this altar designates the Ara Providentiae which commemorated Augustus' adoption of Tiberius. We know from the Acts of the Arval Brethren that in the year 38 A.D. a sacrifice was made:

A D V I K I V L I A S
T A V R V S S T A T I L I V S C O R V I N V S P R O M A G I S T E R C O L L E G I I F R A T R U M
A R V A L I V M
N O M I N E I N C A M P O A G R I P P A E A D A R A M P R O V I D E N T I A E A V G V S T A E
V A C C A M I M M O L A V I T

The date for this sacrifice is June 26, the date of Tiberius' adoption by Augustus. Martin would argue that this sacrifice was instituted after the altar was built late in the reign of Tiberius and after the fall of Sejanus. Sacrifices are also recorded at the Ara Providentiae for the date of the deaths of Sejanus and Agrippina the Elder.

But Martin's argument can finally be refuted thanks to the testimony of the recently discovered *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*. In line 84 of the inscription (which we will discuss more thoroughly as a whole in the next section), the text tells us that the name of Piso will be removed from a statue honoring Germanicus Caesar, a statue, *quam ei sodales Augustales in campo ad aram Providentiae posuissent*.¹²¹ The

¹²⁰ "The chronology and significance of the M. Agrippa asses," *ANS Museum Notes* 19 (1974) 65ff.

¹²¹ Text from Eck, Caballos, and Fernández, *SCPP* 15.

SCPP was issued in 20 A.D., the year after the death of Germanicus and the subsequent trial of Piso. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Ara Providentiae in the Campus Agrippae which the Acts of the Arval Brethren specifies.

It is, therefore, impossible that this altar could have been erected to celebrate Tiberian *providentia*. Rather, as the editors of the *SCPP* point out in their commentary, the altar was built to celebrate Augustan *providentia* in adopting Tiberius and compelling his stepson to adopt Germanicus. They state, “Dass mit der *providentia Augusta*, wie es in den Arvalakten heisst, die kluge Voraussicht des Augustus, des ersten Princeps, gemeint ist, kann nicht zweifelhaft sein, auch nicht, dass es die spezielle *providentia* des Augustus war, für die Zukunft der res publica durch die Regelung seiner eigenen Nachfolge gesorgt zu haben.”¹²² The placement of a statue of Germanicus near the altar adds further weight to this theory.

The editors of the *SCPP* further observe that the altar was not mentioned by Augustus in the *Res Gestae* and propose that the Ara Providentiae was built, or at least vowed, between the time Augustus completed the *Res Gestae* in 13 A.D. and his death in 14.¹²³ This seems to me an unnecessary conclusion. Tiberius is the one who depicts this altar on coinage which they date to the earlier years of his reign. Moreover, as we have already seen, these coins were minted over a period of several years between 22-30. Likewise, Tiberius continued to celebrate the altar commemorating his adoption on coinage honoring his father as proof that his rule was justified by the choice of Augustus to adopt him in 4 A.D.

¹²² Ibid. 200.

¹²³ Ibid. 201.

The *providentia* advertised on the coin could be conceded to both principes, depending upon when the coin was issued. Tiberius exhibited *providentia* in many aspects of his reign, and there is no need to limit this virtue to the aftermath of Sejanus. But even if the coin were commemorating that particular event, the first manifestation of *providentia* was that exhibited by Augustus who adopted Tiberius in the first place. It is Divus Augustus, not Tiberius, who is featured on the obverse of these coins. The adoption of Tiberius by the Divus is commemorated by a sacrifice at the altar featured on the coin and demonstrates the pattern we have already seen with other Tiberian virtues, referring them back to the charismatic first princeps.

One more item should be mentioned before we leave our discussion of Tiberian coinage—countermarks. The use of countermarks was frequent in the ancient world as is evidenced by their prevalence in coin hoards, but their significance and purpose has yet to be determined with any certainty.¹²⁴ Obviously the marks manifested some authority which would alter the meaning and value of the coin, whether due to a new princeps needing to pay off the army or a devaluation of the coinage or both. Whatever their origin, these stamps exist and their message must be examined.

Among the most troublesome group of counterstamps on Roman coins is a series on Augustan and early Tiberian *aes* which advertise titles presumably belonging to the emperor Tiberius. It should be remembered, however, that Tiberius was also the first name of the emperor Claudius. Nevertheless, the problem arises when one studies not so much the marks themselves as their superimposition. Countermarks which advertise Tiberius as TIB.IM, TIB.AVG, and TIB are superimposed by countermarks which read

¹²⁴ The best general account of possible theories is to be found in Kraay's article, "The behaviour of early imperial countermarks," in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* 113-136.

CAESAR and IMP AVG. While the first group refers to Tiberius, as the date of the coins on which the countermarks are imposed would indicate, the second group could refer to any emperor, but more specifically in the time of Tiberius, to Germanicus Caesar or Divus Augustus.

Various theories have emerged, of which the most far-fetched is that of Grünwald, who posited that the countermarks were evidence of a movement in 6 B.C. to oust Augustus and make Tiberius emperor among the legions of the Rhine.¹²⁵ More realistically, others have tried to explain the countermarks Caesar and Imp. Aug. as generic imperial titles and the countermarks as exhibiting regional or denominational variations.¹²⁶ Grant goes one step further and proposes that the countermarks are commemorative.¹²⁷ While it seems problematic that so many countermarks on coins minted under Augustus or his successor can be seen as posthumously honoring Tiberius (indeed none of these countermarks which clearly refer to Tiberius and not Claudius are featured on coins of the former's successors), the countermark Imp. Aug. clearly was imposed after the death of Augustus.

While Tiberius may have referred to himself as Caesar in his imperial titulature, as well as using the title Augustus as a *cognomen*, he refrained from using the title Imperator as his *praenomen*. With respect to official documents such as inscriptions and coin legends, while Augustus officially referred to himself as Imperator Caesar Augustus, Tiberius preferred to be called Tiberius Caesar Augustus. How then do we explain the

¹²⁵ *Die Römischen Bronze- und Kupfermünzen mit Schlagmarken im Legionslager Vindonissa* passim.

¹²⁶ Kraay, "The Behaviour" 113ff., Kraft, "Zu den Schlagmarken des Tiberius und Germanicus," *JNG* 2 (1950-51) 21-35, MacDowall, "An early imperial countermark from Pannonia," *NC* (1966) 125ff., Buttrey, "Observations on the behavior of Tiberian counterstamps," *ANS Museum Notes* 16 (1970) 57ff.

¹²⁷ *The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus* 31ff.

Imp. Aug. countermarks found on Tiberian coins? Might they not just refer to a later emperor who did take the title Imperator?

Once again, superimposition prevents this deduction. Not only is the IMP. AVG. countermark superimposed over Tiberian countermarks, but Tiberian countermarks are superimposed over it. To return then to Grant's argument that the countermarks are posthumous honors, might not the countermark bearing IMP. AVG. have appeared as a direct invocation of the military position held by Divus Augustus, the ultimate source of Victoria? This would explain the emphasis on the countermark of Augustus as Imperator rather than Divus. While the coins are countermarked later than the military mutinies which inaugurated Tiberius' reign, they could easily be dated to the later years, after the fall of Sejanus.

It seems likely then that the IMP. AVG. and perhaps even the CAESAR countermarks are evidence of an attempt to regain imperial authority by recalling not the reigning princeps himself, but the first Imperator, Caesar Augustus. Giard places these countermarks at the end of Tiberius' reign, stating, "Dans une ultime opération lancée sur l'ensemble de ces régions, l'empereur aurait usé d'une seule contremarque IMP AVG, non seulement pour briser cette régionalisation monétaire et donner plus de cohérence à ses réformes, mais encore pour imposer partout une expression unique, saisissante, digne de son illustre prédécesseur."¹²⁸ These countermarks reassert that the allegiance of the army, and indeed of the entire Roman world, belonged to the *domus Augusta*.

¹²⁸ *Catalogue des monnaies* II.38.

C. Building projects

Having looked at statuary, relief sculpture, decorative art, and coinage, we should now examine the last area of visual imagery pertinent to our study of Tiberius' use of the image of Augustus—building programs and public works.¹²⁹ These graphic and functional *beneficia* formed the hallmark of Augustus' reign. After all, it was Augustus who found the city brick and left it marble. So what was left for Tiberius to build? Tiberius was criticized for his lack of public works, and his parsimony may have been due to his *providentia*. He knew that Augustus had not left him much money, and his successor was likely to run through it rather quickly.¹³⁰ We shall address the financial issues of Tiberius' rule in the next chapter. Let it suffice to say here that Tiberius' paucity of building was probably the result of several factors, including not only lack of space and money, but also his well-known *moderatio*.

The most important Tiberian building, as we mentioned in the previous chapter, was the temple of Divus Augustus. As we have said, there is no reason to believe that Tiberius was being remiss in construction of the building, but rather he was concerned with making sure that this all-important center for the imperial cult turned out perfectly. The fact that the temple was dedicated by Caligula and not Tiberius simply reflects the emperor's absence from Rome during the last years of his reign. The magnificence of the building mirrored that of the temple of Concordia which Tiberius had constructed under Augustus and like the temple of Concordia, it was probably a museum as well as a temple.

¹²⁹ The most thorough overview of imperial building under Tiberius is found in Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians* 10ff.

¹³⁰ For a rather unconvincing assessment that Tiberius ran out of projects and money, see Thornton and Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs* 46ff., a section entitled "The Tiberian Trough."

Tiberius' building policy is best summarized by Levick:

Nor did the Princeps embark on any fresh large-scale building programme. The few new public buildings he is known to have constructed, even that purely utilitarian project, the barracks for the Praetorians on the Viminal, were put in hand near the beginning of his principate, like those he repaired (except for the rebuilding after the fires); and three of them might have been calculated, were in fact calculated, to remind the plebs of the genial and generous Princeps they had lost. An arch for the return of the standards captured in Germany, a temple of Fors Fortuna (a deity with plebeian associations), a temple of the Gens Iulia and a statue of Augustus at Bovillae, all were dedicated in AD 16; a number of temples that Augustus had begun to repair were completed by Tiberius and dedicated in AD 17; the temple of the deified Augustus, to which Tiberius was committed from the moment of consecration, if not the restored scaena (stage) of Pompey's theatre, was completed probably by AD 34, but both remained undedicated in the Princeps' absence.¹³¹

In short, Tiberius either completed projects already begun by Augustus, rebuilt buildings destroyed by fire, or built buildings which were meant to enhance the glory not of himself, but of Augustus and other members of the *domus divina*.

That having been said, the one significant area of construction under Tiberius is that of honorary arches for Germanicus and Drusus the younger.¹³² One of these arches built under Tiberius for the victories of Germanicus served as a pendant to the Arch of Augustus in the Roman Forum. Tacitus tells us that, *fine anni* [16 A.D.] *arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii et aedes Fortis Fortunae...dicantur* (*Ann.* 2.41). The arch, intended to commemorate Germanicus' recovery of the return of the standards lost by Varus, directly faced the arch

¹³¹ *Tiberius the Politician* 123.

¹³² De Maria's *Gli Archi di Roma e dell'Italia romana* contains the most comprehensive collection of sources and images of Italian arches inside and outside of Rome. On the nature of arches and their importance in iconography, see Wallace-Hadrill, "Roman Arches and Greek Honours: the language of power at Rome," *PCPS* 36 (1990) 143ff. With reference to the epigraphic evidence discussed above see Lebek, "Ehrenbogen und Prinzentod: 9 v. Chr. - 23 n. Chr.," *ZPE* 86 (1991) 47ff.

of Augustus which had been built to commemorate the recovery of the Parthian standards by Tiberius.¹³³

As Rose points out, “The return of the standards lost in Germany was therefore directly linked to the retrieval of the standards from Parthia, and Tiberius’ role in both events would have been apparent.”¹³⁴ But more apparent, as we have already shown above, was the hierarchy demonstrated in the idea of Victoria Augusti. In no way was Tiberius trying to usurp the status of Augustus as the orchestrator of Victoria, but rather, by building the arch of Germanicus opposite that of Augustus, Tiberius was mirroring the imagery in a public setting which was portrayed in private art such as the Boscoreale cups, the Gemma Augustea, the Paris Camée, and the Sword of Tiberius. Kleiner sees this connection as well, stating, “The intended parallel between the recovery of Varus’ lost standards and the return of Crassus’ would have been perceived immediately by all and Tiberius was able to use the new arch not only to commemorate his own success, but also to impress upon the populace that he and his son Germanicus were carrying on the work of the divine Augustus.”¹³⁵

To commemorate the diplomatic successes of Germanicus in the east, another arch was vowed in 19 A.D. It was constructed in the same year along with an arch dedicated to Drusus the Younger in celebration of his military successes in Illyricum.¹³⁶ The two arches flanked the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus.¹³⁷ The temple of Mars Ultor was the focal point of the forum, but more importantly, it housed

¹³³ De Maria, *Archi* catalogue nos. 62 (Tiberius and Germanicus), 59 (Augustus’ Parthian arch). De Maria does not believe that the dynastic significance was as obvious to the viewer as other scholars do. See next note for the opposite position.

¹³⁴ *Dynastic Commemoration* 24.

¹³⁵ *The Arch of Nero* 52.

¹³⁶ De Maria, *Archi* cat. nos. 63-64.

¹³⁷ See Blake, *Roman Construction* 12.

the shrine to Divus Augustus until the completion of his temple. Richardson conjectures that in addition to erecting these arches, Tiberius redecorated the square hall at the northwest corner of the Forum Augustum. The remodelling included Corinthian columns of pavonazzetto at the entrance, as well as panels of colored marble (giallo antico and africano) and decorative reliefs throughout the hall. But despite the beauty of these ornaments, the focal point of the room was a statue, probably of Augustus, approximately 12 m. tall.¹³⁸

Also, as Rose further notes, the arches would have been viewed as connected with the equestrian statue of Augustus which dominated the middle of the forum. Rose points out, “The two arches of Germanicus and Drusus were intended to commemorate their military successes in the eastern and western regions of the empire, respectively, and they would have complemented this preexisting visual network signifying universal Roman hegemony.”¹³⁹ Once again, however, in the context of dynastic imagery, the totality of this image would have displayed not only Roman hegemony, but the fact that this hegemony was the result of the *Victoria Augusti* and the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

As we shall see in the *Tabula Siarensis*, three arches were to be dedicated to Germanicus in the decrees pronouncing his funeral honors, one of which was to be located in Rome.¹⁴⁰ This arch was to be placed in the Circus Flaminius, near a statue of Augustus and the *domus Augusta*. Although the members of the *domus Augusta* are not specified, the most important is of course the *paterfamilias* Augustus. The location would have been near the Porticus of Octavia and the Theater of Marcellus, as seems only appropriate for a prince who reached the same charismatic popularity as the young

¹³⁸ *New Topographical Dictionary* 162.

¹³⁹ *Dynastic Commemoration* 25.

¹⁴⁰ De Maria, *Archi* cat. no. 65.

nephew of Augustus.¹⁴¹ The statues to be placed on the arch as mentioned in the document are those of Drusus the Elder, the father of Germanicus; Antonia, Germanicus' mother and the niece of Augustus; Claudius and Livilla, his siblings; and his wife Agrippina and their children.¹⁴²

Rose sees this as an attempt to relocate Germanicus dynastically within the Claudian line, since Drusus is assuming the place as Germanicus' father which Tiberius held legally and which through adoption made Germanicus the grandson of Divus Augustus.¹⁴³ Rose seems to have forgotten that by placing the two women on the arch through whom Germanicus was connected to Augustus, Antonia and Agrippina, the Senate, presumably along with Tiberius who oversaw the honors, was reinforcing the Augustan bloodline and providing a claim for succession for the children of Germanicus. Had Tiberius been placed on the arch instead of Drusus, the association with Antonia would have become troublesome if not scandalous. Moreover, the affection felt for Drusus at his death and evidenced by the writer of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, by not only his brother Tiberius, but also by Augustus and the Roman people, would carry far more weight in the long term than the presence of the unpopular Tiberius. Thus the arrangement of the statues alongside the triumphal chariot of Germanicus makes perfect sense.

¹⁴¹ On possible identification of fragments from the arch of Germanicus in the Circus Flaminius, see La Roca, "L'arco di Germanico 'in Circo Flaminio'," *BullComm* 95 (1993) 83ff. and Kleiner, "The study of Roman triumphal and honorary arches 50 years after Kähler," *JRA* 2 (1989) 200ff. On its possible influence on the statue group at Leptis Magna, see Trillmich, "Der Germanicus-Bogen in Rom und das Monument für Germanicus und Drusus in Lepcis Magna: Archäologisches zur Tabula Siarensis (I 9-21)," in *Estudios sobre La Tabula Siarensis* 51ff.

¹⁴² The number of children who would have been included on the arch remains problematic, as does the prospect of so many statues crowding around the chariot of Germanicus. See De Maria, *Archi* 277ff.

¹⁴³ "...but the senatorial decree of Germanicus represented a complete redefinition of his family position. For fifteen years, since the adoptions of A.D. 4, Germanicus had been named as a son of Tiberius in all inscriptions; he was now, in an official communication from the Senate, linked to another father and reintegrated into the Claudian family," *Dynastic Commemoration* 27.

The visual imagery of the statuary on the arches dedicated to Germanicus, as well as their location near statues of the Divus Augustus and the *domus Augusta*, brings us back to where we began. The visual iconography of the imperial family revolved around the central figure of Augustus. His cognomen as a god, *pater*, is more than just an emphasis on his adoption of Tiberius. He is *pater* because he continues to operate symbolically as the *paterfamilias*. Tiberius' *moderatio* and *modestia* extended beyond his refusal of the title Pater Patriae. He consciously portrayed the imperial family and, by association, the empire itself, as remaining under the *potestas* and *auspicia* of Augustus. The visual images on sculpture and coins, as well as the language of official imperial edicts aimed at honoring the imperial family, demonstrate this in the most blatant terms. Divus Augustus Pater was more than a coin legend, it was an ideology which dominated Tiberian Rome.

D. Public inscriptions

The most remarkable documents for the comparison of imperial history as written by later historians with the contemporary proclamations from the Senate and the imperial house date from the age of Tiberius. But in line with what we have already seen concerning presentations of the imperial house under Tiberius, the three most important documents of his reign refer to other people—Augustus and Germanicus. The first of these, the *Res Gestae* of Divus Augustus is considered by most to be a product of the Augustan age, but it should be remembered that Tiberius was responsible for the translation, propagation, and dissemination of this document. The *Tabula Hebana* and *Tabula Siarensis* and the recently discovered *senatus consultum* concerning Gnaeus Piso deal with the publicity surrounding the death of Germanicus described so colorfully by

Tacitus. Each of these inscriptions will prove useful in examining the way that the imperial household, the *domus Augusta*, wished to be viewed inside and outside Rome.

The first of these documents, the *Res Gestae*, contains an inscription of the deeds of Augustus as written by him before his death, presumably completed in 13 A.D. It was intended to and did mark his mausoleum as a testimonial to the first princeps, the man who had saved Rome from civil war and utter obliteration. However, the *Res Gestae* was also widely published outside of Rome and translated into Greek as the Monumentum Ancyranum testifies.¹⁴⁴ This widespread publication of the deeds of his predecessor was carried out by Tiberius. As Fergus Millar states, “As a text, the *Res Gestae* is in every sense an Augustan composition, written by Augustus himself, perhaps in a first draft soon after 2 B.C., and in its final form in the last year of his life. But as an *inscription* it too is early Tiberian, set up outside the Mausoleum, and then copied for re-inscription in a number of provincial centers.”¹⁴⁵ The proliferation of copies of the *RG* shows Tiberius’ desire to justify his own position through the deeds of Augustus. Tiberius himself figures minimally in the document, so it cannot be seen as an explicitly self-promoting act. The “too” in the quote from Millar refers to the documents surrounding the death of Germanicus. Unlike the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, these documents are not only Tiberian inscriptions, but as Millar points out, Tiberian texts. Bearing this in mind, let us examine the language and wording of these documents which were intended to be published throughout the empire.

The *Tabula Hebana* and the *Tabula Siarensis* are different versions of the same document, commonly referred to *in toto* as the *rogatio Valeria Aurelia*, which details the

¹⁴⁴ The editions of Mommsen and Gagé remain canonical, drawing on fragments of the *Res Gestae* found in Asia Minor. For possible fragments from Rome, see Hesberg and Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*.

¹⁴⁵ “Imperial ideology in the *Tabula Siarensis*,” in *Estudios sobre la Tabula Siarensis* 12.

funeral honors decreed for Germanicus. The honors voted to Germanicus were heavily influenced by the honors voted under Augustus to the deceased Gaius and Lucius. The decrees under Augustus from the town of Pisa reflect the impact that the declarations from the capital regarding the honors of the deceased princes had on *municipia* and *provinciae* wishing to pay tribute to the imperial family. As Rowe remarks, in at least four aspects of its decree, Pisa responded to, imitated, and even incorporated a decree of the Roman Senate.¹⁴⁶ Rowe's study demonstrates that the honors voted on the *tabulae* from Heba and Siarum must be seen as having an impact on the relationship between the ruling *domus Augusta* and the entire body of the ruled. In O'Neill's review of Rowe he summarizes by saying that, "By being publicized, these decrees assume a normative force as all know that the contents are the emperor's will."¹⁴⁷ Thus it should not be surprising that these documents found in provincial Italy and Spain were part of a deliberate effort by the Senate and the imperial house to emphasize the charisma of the *domus Augusta* and its justification for rulership.

First it should be remarked that in these decrees we see the first official use of the phrase *domus Augusta* in Latin. As Rowe notes, in Augustan decrees, "The imperial family presented itself as all three, a gens, a *familia*, and a *domus*....In the Tiberian decrees, the imperial family is never called a gens or a *familia* but only the *domus Augusta*, an expression there appearing in Latin for the first time."¹⁴⁸ Rowe is incorrect however in asserting that this is the first time this phrase has appeared in Latin. It is the first time it has appeared in official Latin. But as we observed in the previous chapter, the phrase *domus Augusta* was used in literary Latin by Ovid while Augustus was still

¹⁴⁶ *Princes and Political Cultures* 108.

¹⁴⁷ *BMCR* 2003.03.12.

¹⁴⁸ *Princes and Political Cultures* 19.

alive.¹⁴⁹ Ovid uses the phrase in his panegyric to the members of the family—Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, *ceteraque Augustae membra valere domus* (*Ex. Pont.* 2.2.74). Ovid is, of course, trying to win the right to return home from exile, and his use of the phrase in this context suggests that *domus Augusta* may well have been an increasing popular epithet in the later years of Augustus as well as the early years of Tiberius.

Among the honors voted to Germanicus were three arches to be placed 1) in the Circus Flaminius where statues of Divus Augustus and the *domus Augusta* were already located; 2) *in montis Amani iugo*, i.e., the border of Syria, the last province where Germanicus held sway; 3) at the *tumulus* where Augustus performed rites for the deceased Drusus the Elder on the banks of the Rhine (*TS* Ia. 9-31).¹⁵⁰ His own *imago clipeata* and that of Drusus the Elder were to be placed among the images of famous orators and writers *in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis in templo in quo senatus haberi solet* (*TH* 1-4).¹⁵¹ Also, provisions were made for an annual sacrifice in Germanicus' name on the anniversary of his death at the Mausoleum of Augustus where his ashes were interred, as well as the inclusion of his name in the Carmen Saliare and the addition of five centuries in the voting process.¹⁵² These latter honors were drawn from those vowed to Gaius and Lucius upon their deaths, as the language of the *Tabula Hebana* makes clear.

¹⁴⁹ This is pointed out by Corbier in her study, "À propos de la *Tabula Siarensis*: Le Sénat, Germanicus et la *Domus Augusta*," in *Roma y las provincias* 66ff.

¹⁵⁰ On the possible identification of the Arch of Germanicus on the Rhine, see Frenz, "The honorary arch at Mainz-Kastel," *JRA* 2 (1989) 120ff. We will discuss the arch in the Circus Flaminius in greater detail below.

¹⁵¹ See also Tac. *Ann.* 2.83. On these *clipei imaginum*, see Corbier, "À propos de la *Tabula Siarensis*" 47ff., who posits that they were placed near a statue of "Apollo ou, plus précisément, d'Auguste habitu ac statu Apollinis" (62).

¹⁵² On the reconstruction of the text at this point and the mention of the Mausoleum of Augustus, see Millar, "Imperial Ideology" 14.

So Tiberius used the example of Augustus in honoring his adopted son. But even more significant is that the Senate designated for Germanicus, *qui honos C(aio) quoq(ue) et L(ucio) Caesarib(us) fratr(ibus) Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti) habitus est* (TH 6-7). In this wording, Tiberius is presented not as the stepfather of Gaius and Lucius, but rather as their brother. Keeping in mind that Tiberius was not adopted by Augustus until after a cruel fate had robbed him of his grandsons and adopted sons, the edict contains an anachronism which can only be seen as a deliberate attempt by Tiberius to identify himself with the charismatic relationship between Augustus and his grandsons.

Also mentioned near this same passage is the temple of Concordia. Although the context is not clear, following the view of Lebek, Sánchez-Ostiz conjectures that the images of Gaius and Lucius had been placed in the temple of Concordia, which as we noted in the first chapter was the symbol of dynastic harmony and the peace which came with the *domus Augusta*. Sánchez-Ostiz writes, “A todo esto se unía la relación con Gayo y Lucio Césares, dado que el templo se había convertido en lugar de culto protector de las esperanzas dinásticas.”¹⁵³ These same dynastic hopes which were crushed upon the deaths of Gaius and Lucius are appealed to in mourning Germanicus and praising the surviving members of the *domus*.

Aside from this connection to Gaius and Lucius in the *Tabula Siarensis*, and in statuary, which we observed in the first section of this chapter, another set of inscriptions indicates that there may have been a dedication to Gaius and Lucius alongside one to Tiberius in the Basilica Aemilia in the Roman Forum. Panciera has linked the well-

¹⁵³ TS 272. Sánchez-Ostiz cites Lebek, “Die circensischen Ehrungen für Germanicus und das Referat des Tacitus in Lichte von Tabula Siarensis frg. II, col. c, 2-11,” *ZPE* 73 (1988) 249-274.

attested inscription to Lucius as *princeps iuventutis* with another fragment which seems to have come from the same *lastra* and possibly the same dedication. He concludes,

Dunque, meglio sarà, forse, considerare anche l'iscrizione di Lucio (e la parallela a Gaio) incisa ex novo nel 27/28 d.C., con un riecheggiamento, se mai, e parziale aggiornamento (11), dei testi incisi su altri monumenti agli stessi personaggi, esistenti nelle immediate vicinanze, come quelli sopra ricordati ed altri (12). Ipotesi tanto più giustificata se si considera che v'è ragione di credere, come ho già accennato, che altri personaggi, oltre a questi due, siano onorati nella medesima occasione, insieme con Tiberio.¹⁵⁴

The inscription, based on the titlature of Tiberius, does not date to the rebuilding of the Basilica Aemilia under Tiberius which took place in 22-23 A.D. (*Ann.* 3.72), but rather some four years later. Besides, the rebuilding of the Basilica had been undertaken by Marcus Lepidus at his own expense, although Augustus had rebuilt the same building in 14 B.C. after a fire, and the original inscriptions dedicated to Gaius and Lucius probably originate from that time. But when they were recarved with a dedication to Tiberius, they defined the importance not so much of Tiberius to preserving the memory of Gaius and Lucius, but of Gaius and Lucius to ensuring the future of Tiberius. After all, the inscriptions were of a dedicatory nature and probably accompanied some type of monument or sculpture group, perhaps of the whole *domus Augusta*. Whatever the case may be, the inscription in the Basilica Aemilia demonstrates further that Tiberius, after the death of his two charismatic sons, still kept alive the memory of his two “brothers” and fellow adopted sons of Augustus.

Thus Tiberius consolidated the dynastic image of himself as the son of Augustus who was merely protecting the plan laid out by the Divus. He is not portrayed as the *paterfamilias*, just as he was never Pater Patriae.¹⁵⁵ He is merely princeps. As Rowe

¹⁵⁴ “Miscellanea Epigrafica IV,” *Epigraphica* 31 (1969) 109.

¹⁵⁵ On his adamant refusal of the title, see Suet. *Tib.* 67.

explains, in these documents, “Augustus’s sanitized memory underpins the ideology of the documents, defining the present epoch (tranquility and military discipline after civil war), preserving traditional values, and therefore lending the current imperial family a moral right to its position.”¹⁵⁶ And yet Augustus was no more. He may be the divine protector and founder of the *domus*, but he cannot be held responsible for the publication of these edicts. The collaboration of the Senate and the imperial household upon the carefully chosen words of these honorific decrees demonstrates, nevertheless, the continued importance of Augustus during the reign of Tiberius.

Aside from the publication of the decrees themselves throughout the empire, the *tabulae* also call for the publication of Germanicus’ *Res Gestae* as an example to future generations. The *Tabula Siarensis* reads:

[...]men, quod Ti(berius) Caesar Aug(ustus) in eo ordine a(nte) d(iem) XVII K(alendas) Ian(uarias)
 [...] suo proposuisset, in aere incisum figeretur loco publico
 [...] placeret; idque eo iustius futurum arbitrari senatum, quod
 [...Ti(berii)] Caesaris Aug(usti) intumus et Germanici Caesaris ffilii) eius
non magis laudati / onem quam vitae totius ordinem et virtut<is> eius verum
testimonium contineret / aeternae tradi memoriae et ipse se velle non dissimulare
eodem libello testatus / esset et esse utile iuventuti liberorum posterorumque
nostrorum iudicaret. / item quo testatior esset Drusi Caesaris pietas placere uti
 libellus, quem is proxu / mo senatu recitasset, in aere incideretur eoque loco
 figeretur quo patri eius ipsique placuisset. (TS IIb.11-19)¹⁵⁷

The word *dissimulare* stands out to the modern reader in light of the historical notoriety of Tiberian dissimulation.¹⁵⁸ However, according to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, *dissimulare* can be defined not only as: (1) “to conceal the identity of”, “to disguise”, or

¹⁵⁶ *Princes and Political Cultures* 13.

¹⁵⁷ The lacuna in line IIb.11 of the *TS* has been variously filled as *carmen* or *volumen*. See Sánchez-Ostiz ad loc. I prefer the reading of Lebek, who adopts *volumen* in favor of González's *carmen*. On the speech itself and its genre see Schillinger-Häfele, “Die Laudatio Funebris des Tiberius für Germanicus (zu *Tabula Siarensis* Fragment II, Col. B, 13-19),” in *ZPE* 75 (1988) 73ff. The nature of the speech is not so important in this context as its documentation on tablets.

¹⁵⁸ See Zecchini, “La *Tabula Siarensis* e la “dissimulatio” di Tiberio,” *ZPE* 66 (1986) 23-29.

(2) “to pretend that a thing, situation, etc. is not what it is”, but also as (3) “to pretend not to notice or be aware of, turn a blind eye to, ignore”. It is presumably this third definition which the decree intended to be understood. Tiberius felt it important that the deeds of Germanicus not be ignored and that the record of his virtues *aeternae tradi memoriae*. However, the reading of Tacitus, who chose to adopt the first meaning of *dissimulo* for his portrayal of Tiberius and his actions regarding his nephew/adopted son, demonstrates the underlying tensions within the *domus Augusta* as it struggled to portray itself united by *concordia*.

Thus, just as the *Res Gestae* of Augustus were set up for the purpose of honoring Augustus and celebrating his memorable deeds, the publication of Germanicus’ *Res Gestae* seeks not only to honor the dead prince, but to provide an example to future generations.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, the language used by Tiberius in the justification for publication, according to the *TS*, mirrors the language used by Augustus in the *Res Gestae* to explain his restoration of *mos maiorum*. Augustus claims, *ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi* (RG 8). Likewise, Tiberius judged the *laudationem quam vitae totius ordinem et virtut<is> eius verum testimonium contineret aeternae tradi memoriae et ipse se velle non dissimulare eodem libello testatus esset et esse utile iuventuti liberorum posterorumque nostrorum iudicaret*. As Schillinger-Häfele notes, “Der Senat sah, wie ich meine, diese Zusammenhänge und ergriff deshalb die Initiative, dem Text der tiberischen Laudation dieselbe ‚Verewigung‘ zukommen zu lassen, wie der augusteische Tatenbericht erfahren hatte.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ On the exemplary nature of Augustus’ *Res Gestae*, see Yavetz, “The *Res Gestae* and Augustus’ public image,” in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* 1-35.

¹⁶⁰ “Die Laudatio Funebris” 81.

The wording of the document does not specify exactly where in Rome the bronze inscriptions were to be set up, but various editors have inferred that the location mentioned must have been the Mausoleum of Augustus. Sánchez-Ostiz reconstructs the text of the *Tabula Siarensis*, IIa.5-7 as:

*cippusque aeneus prope eum / [tumulum poneretur, inque eo hoc s(enatus) c(onsultum)] similiter incideretur ut ea s(enatus) c(onsulta) incisa essent quae / [in G(ai) et L(uci) Caesarum honorem facta] essent.*¹⁶¹

We know that the *cippus* was to be set up in the same place as the *senatus consulta* for Gaius and Lucius, and Sánchez-Ostiz would like to fill the lacuna in these lines with the *tumulus* of Augustus. Millar also adopted this idea of the *cippus* being placed near the Mausoleum following Lebek's reading of *locum* in the lacuna. He sees this as a counterpart to the inscription of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, stating:

Here again we have a direct expression, reflecting the words of Tiberius himself, of the explicit continuation of Augustan ideology: the achievements of Germanicus, like those of the summi viri commemorated in the Forum Augustum, were to serve as a model for posterity. But there may also be a more specific connection; if this is so, we have a case where the new text casts light back on the propaganda, or rather retrospective propaganda, of Augustus himself.¹⁶²

The erection of these tablets at the Mausoleum of Augustus is also adopted by Panciera who, in his treatment of the epigraphic remains from the Mausoleum, posits that pieces found in the Uffizi gallery and described by Hülsen in the *CIL* can be identified as the remains of the decree in question proclaiming the *Res Gestae* of Germanicus.¹⁶³

Following Mommsen, Hülsen envisioned these pieces as part of the *elogium* for

¹⁶¹ TS 202, with discussion of previous editions.

¹⁶² "Imperial Ideology" 18. Lebek's emendations are to be found in "Welttrauer um Germanicus : das neugefundene Originaldokument und die Darstellung des Tacitus," *A&A* 36 (1990) 97-98. The word *tumulus* and the reference to Augustus' Mausoleum is adopted by Crawford in *Roman Statutes* no. 37, 516ff.

¹⁶³ *Das Mausoleum des Augustus* 122ff. *CIL* VI.894a, b, 31194a, b.

Germanicus, rejecting Henzen's conjecture of them as an *elogium* for Gaius.¹⁶⁴ The fragments do not provide sufficient evidence for assigning the *cippus* to one prince rather than the other. In this discussion, the point is moot, as any *cippus* set up for Gaius at the Mausoleum would suggest that the *cippus* for Germanicus was placed there also.

While we are not particularly concerned with the funeral of Germanicus and its notoriety, especially according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.2-6), for its lack of pomp and circumstance, the preservation of the *laudationes* delivered by Tiberius and Drusus alongside the *res gestae* of Germanicus presents an image of the imperial family which erases the adoptive nature of the relationship between Germanicus and Tiberius, and more importantly, erases the adoptive nature of the relationship between Tiberius and Augustus. Tiberius is referred to as the *pater* of Germanicus, and when Drusus the Elder is mentioned as the father of Germanicus in the decree concerning his *imago*, he is referred to as *patris eius naturalis fratris(ue) Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti)* (*TH* 3-4). The deliberate placement of *naturalis* between *patris* and *fratris* underscores Drusus the Elder as the link which connects Germanicus and Tiberius and solidifies the adoption arranged through the *providentia* of Augustus.

Likewise, the younger Drusus demonstrated his *pietas* towards Germanicus in much the same way as Tiberius exhibited *pietas* towards the elder Drusus, the natural father of Germanicus. We mentioned in the previous section that Drusus the Younger's image was prominently placed on coins advertising *pietas* and it may well have been connected to these events. By exhibiting his *pietas* towards his charismatic adopted

¹⁶⁴ See Mommsen's commentary on the *Res Gestae*, p. 55.

brother, Drusus could hope to receive by transference some of that popularity enjoyed by Germanicus which manifested itself so clearly upon his death.¹⁶⁵

Before moving on from the honors for Germanicus to the consequences of his death, one final honor should be mentioned which is not recorded in either the *TH* or *TS*. Tacitus (albeit about 100 years after the fact) records the honors for Germanicus as follows:

honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio validus, reperti decretique; ut nomen eius Saliari carmine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur; ludos circenses eburna effigies praeiret; neve quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Iuliae crearetur. arcus additi Romae et apud ripam Rheni et in monte Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum, ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse; sepulchram Antiochiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. statuarum locorumque in quis coleretur, haud facile quis numerum inierit. (Ann. 2.83)

Germanicus had been appointed upon the death of Augustus as the first *flamen divi Augusti*. The position was obviously meant to promote the dynastic importance of the imperial cult. Thus it seems striking that this provision is missing in the official documents which otherwise mirror and expand upon the honors mentioned by Tacitus. While the fragmentary nature of the documents themselves may allow for the eventual discovery of an official confirmation for Tacitus' statement, I would suggest that the stipulation that the flamine remain among the Julian *gens* was omitted from the list of the honors for Germanicus because his successor in this priesthood was Drusus the Younger, a member of the Julian *gens* solely by nature of his father's adoption.¹⁶⁶ In the interests of preserving public order, the emphasis in the *rogatio Valeria Aurelia* was

¹⁶⁵ On the popular outcry over the death of Germanicus see Versnel, "Destruction, *devotio* and despair in a situation of anomy: the mourning for Germanicus in triple perspective," in *Perennitas* 541-618, and Frascchetti, "La *Tabula Hebana*, la *Tabula Siarensis* e il *iustitium* per la morte di Germanico," *MEFRA* 100 (1988) 867-889.

¹⁶⁶ See Furneaux's commentary on *Ann.* 2.83, p.379.

placed on honoring the dead Germanicus, not promoting the living Drusus. As we shall see in the *SCPP*, that would come later.

That having been said, we should also examine the language of the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre* and the portrayal of the *domus Augusta* in this overtly propagandistic document.¹⁶⁷ The discussion of the relationship between Tiberius and Germanicus and the treatment of it in historical writers will be reserved for chapter 5 regarding Tiberius' succession policy. As Cooley has pointed out:

No longer do we possess only one subjective account of the trial of Piso in A.D. 20, but two. Although both accounts are products of members of the senatorial class, they differ considerably in emphasis. Tacitus insinuates that Tiberius and Livia (Julia Augusta) were somehow implicated in the case, having encouraged Piso and Plancina to harass Germanicus and Agrippina. By contrast, the Senate exerts itself to praise the emperor and his mother unreservedly, thus taking an active part in creating the ideology which justified the supremacy of the *domus Augusta* in Roman society.¹⁶⁸

It is this ideology which will form the basis for our analysis of the *SCPP*.

Like the *TH* and *TS*, the *SCPP* aimed at glorifying Germanicus and the *domus Augusta*. Unlike the *TH* and *TS*, however, in the *SCPP*, the protagonist Germanicus is contrasted with the evil antagonist, Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso. The virtues attributed to Germanicus and the other members of the imperial family, as well as the actions and motives which assure the condemnation of Piso, represent the ultimate statement in imperial propaganda under the reign of Tiberius. Moreover, in addition to poisoning the beloved prince, there is a secondary accusation among the crimes of Piso, and probably the more important charge as far as Tiberius was concerned, namely that of sedition. It

¹⁶⁷ The basic edition for this text remains Eck, Caballos, and Fernandez, but the document has also been the subject of a special issue of *AJP* 120 (1999), as well as the judicious study of Rowe in *Princes and Political Cultures*, both of which contain editions of the *SCPP* and English translations. See also Miriam Griffin's English translation in her review of Eck et al., "The Senate's Story," *JRS* 87 (1997) 249ff.

¹⁶⁸ "The moralizing message of the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*," *G&R* 45 (1998) 199.

should come as no surprise, then, that Piso is portrayed not so much as the murderer of Germanicus, but as a threat to the *concordia* and *pax* ensured through the continuance of the *domus Augusta*.

The *domus Augusta* and its importance are the key thread running through the *SCPP*. Their virtues are portrayed as crucial for the endurance of the Pax Augusta. Cooley summarizes, “Members of the *domus Augusta* all share a large number of virtutes which they display for the benefit of the rest of society. The Senate is an active promoter of this view of the imperial household. In the *s.c. de Pisone*, Tiberius and his whole family show their *moderatio*, *modestia*, *humanitas*, *aequitas*, *patientia*, *pietas*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *animi magnitudo*, and *liberalitas*.”¹⁶⁹ These virtues are not monopolized by Tiberius, but rather attributed to various members of the family. It should be noticed that *moderatio*, *clementia*, *pietas*, and *iustitia* were all featured on Tiberian coinage. Likewise, the three virtues excluding *virtus* which were advertised on the *clipeus virtutis* of Augustus—*pietas*, *clementia*, *iustitia*—also play a large role in the ideology of the *SCPP*.

Aside from the virtues attributed to the imperial family, a feature to be expected in an official document of this nature, the *SCPP* contains other elements which invite closer examination. The most prominent of these is the charge against Piso that he violated the *numen* of Augustus. Lines 68-70 of the *SCPP* read:

*numen quoq(ue) divi Aug(usti) violatum esse ab eo arbitrari senatum / omni
honore, qui aut memoriae eius aut imaginibus, quae, antequam in / deorum
numerus referre{n}tur, ei r[...]tae erant, habeba{n}tur, detracto.*

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 207.

The text is corrupt, but the extant parts make it clear that Piso committed an offense against the memory and images of the divine Augustus.¹⁷⁰ We will deal with the bugbear of *maiestas* more thoroughly in chapter 5, but here it seems significant that the last of all the charges listed, following the accusations that Piso rejoiced at the death of Germanicus, involves an offense against the memory of Augustus.

Indeed, the name of Augustus appears repeatedly in the *SCPP*, causing Potter to remark, “The role of Augustus in the condemnation of Piso’s memory is rather striking, coming as it does some six years after the emperor’s death. The text of the *Senatus Consultum Pisonianum* gives new testimony to the extraordinary devotion, even in private, that Tiberius showed to the memory of his predecessor.”¹⁷¹ By my count, the name Augustus (excluding the epithets *Iulia Augusta* and *domus Augusta*) appears eight times in the *SCPP*, sometimes unnecessarily. The most striking of these instances occurs in the Senate’s condemnation of Piso’s attempt to disturb the peace enjoyed, *iam pridem numine Divi Aug(usti) virtutibusq(ue) Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti)* (*SCPP* 47). The contrast between the divine spirit of Augustus and the virtues of Tiberius makes it clear that Tiberius, although the reigning emperor, is responsible only for preserving the state arranged by Divus Augustus.

Also striking are the messages of thanksgiving addressed by the Senate to the members of the imperial family and the various orders of Roman society which follow the list of punishments for Piso. The personification of the *domus Augusta* as the leader of a communal whole is projected repeatedly in the way the Senate expresses its thanks for the salvation of Rome, beginning at the top with Tiberius and working its way down

¹⁷⁰ On the timeline for Piso’s offenses, see Eck et al. ad loc.

¹⁷¹ “Political Theory in the *Senatus Consultum Pisonianum*,” *AJP* 120 (1999) 85.

to the all important army. The thanksgiving occupies roughly 40 lines of the extant 176 and precedes the instructions for distribution and publication of the decree, which also contain a remarkable deviation from the instructions given in the *rogatio Valeria Aurelia*.

Following the judgments concerning Piso and his *familiares*, the Senate turns to Tiberius and addresses him as follows:

*item cum iudic<ar>et senatus / omnium partium pietatem antecessisse Ti.
Caesarem Aug(ustum) principem nostrum / tanti et tam aequali<s> dolori<s eius
indicis> totiens conspectis, quibus etiam senatus ve/hementer motus sit,
magnopere rogare et petere, ut omnem curam, quam / in duos quondam filios
suos partitus erat, ad eum, quem haberet, converteret, / sperareq(ue) senatum
eum, qu{p}i supersit, tanto maiori curae dis immortalibus / fore, quanto magis
intellegerent, omnem spem futuram paternae pro r(e) p(ublica) stationis in uno
reposita<m>, quo nomine debere eum finire dolorem / ac restituere patriae
suae non tantum animum, se etiam voltum, qui publicae felicitati conveniret;
(SCPP 123-132)*

Several key phrases stand out in this exhortation which calls Tiberius to end his grief and return the spirit and appearance of himself which furnishes public *felicitas*. Leaving aside the image drawn from the later historians, even defenders of Tiberius are compelled to admit there had to have been some public opinion that tension existed between Tiberius and Germanicus. This exhortation from the Senate seems a bit over the top even considering the panegyric nature of these decrees. The key points of emphasis are the extremity of the usually stoic Tiberius' *dolor* and the need for Tiberius to put aside his grief for Germanicus, his nephew and adopted son, to foster the talent of Drusus, his biological son.

This passage makes no distinction between Drusus and Germanicus as sons of Tiberius. Germanicus was the elder by a few years, but at this point both had had distinguished careers and were worthy to succeed Tiberius. The Senate's phrase, *omnem spem futuram paternae pro r. p. stationis*, echoes the words used by Velleius to describe

the position filled by Tiberius at the death of Augustus.¹⁷² The *SCPP* preserves the first use of this phrase, *paterna statio*, in an official document, and its literary citation in Velleius may very well have been drawn from a decree published when Tiberius became emperor. Thus the Senate refers to the succession of Tiberius by his natural son Drusus in terms of the accession of Tiberius to the position of his adoptive father Augustus. What is lacking for Drusus, however, is a charismatic father from whom he can draw public support. He must therefore, be portrayed as a true brother of Germanicus and a member of the Julian *gens*.

After the exhortation to Tiberius, the next members of the family to be included in the thanksgiving are Livia and Drusus. The insertion of Livia as Iulia Augusta between the names of the two heads not only of the family but of the Roman Empire as well demonstrates the important position which she held in connecting the Claudian line to the charisma of Divus Augustus. The Senate decreed:

*item senatum laudare magnopere Iuliae Aug(ustae) / Drusi(ue) Caesaris
moderationem imitantium principis nostri iustitiam, quos / animadvertere{t} hunc
ordinem non maiorem pietatem in Germanicum / quam aequitatem in servandis
integris iudicis suis, donec de causa Cn. Pisonis / patris cognosceretur,
praestitisse. (SCPP 132-136)*

The values of *moderatio*, *iustitia*, and *pietas* are attributed to Livia and Drusus while also presented as virtues of *noster princeps* Tiberius. As has already been stated, this *pietas* attributed to Drusus and Livia was probably the impetus for the coinage issued featuring his image and the female figure of Pietas which resembles Livia.

Agrippina, the woman who would cause Tiberius so much trouble in just a few years, follows next on the list. She is praised, *quam senatui memoriam / divi Aug(usti),
qu<o>i fuisset probatissima, et viri Germanici, cum quo unica concordia vixsis / set, et*

¹⁷² The Senate pleads with Tiberius, *ut stationi paternae succederet* (2.142.2). See Eck et al. ad. loc.

tot pignora edita partu felicissimo eorum, qui superessent, commendare (SCPP 137-139). The celebration of Agrippina associated with the memory of her grandfather Divus Augustus, a relationship which Agrippina later tried to use to threaten Tiberius (*Ann.* 4.52), as well as her marriage to Germanicus which was celebrated for its *concordia*, provided charismatic publicity for the *domus Augusta*, and more notably, for her two sons Nero and Drusus.

The Senate also praised Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, the wife of Tiberius' brother Drusus, *quae unum matrimonium Dru/si Germ(anici) patris experta sanctitate morum dignam se divo Aug(usto) tam arta propin/quitate exhibuerit* (SCPP 140-142). Once again, Antonia's relationship to Divus Augustus is highlighted. Likewise, the Senate praised her chastity and loyalty to her deceased husband Drusus, the father of Germanicus. There is no mention of Tiberius as her brother-in-law, only Augustus.

Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, also received her share of accolades. Her presence here among the more prominent members of the family seems a bit odd, especially in light of her later betrayal of the *domus* to Sejanus. The words of the Senate which would later prove so ironic read:

et Liviae sororis Germ(anici) Caesar(is), de qua optume et avia sua et / socer idemq(ue) patruos, princeps noster, iudicaret, quorum iudicis, etiam si non contin / gere{n}t domum eorum, merito gloriari posset, nedum tam coniunctis necessitu / dinibus inligata femina.. (SCPP 142-145)

Aside from the stinging irony from the praise of her virtues, the passage presents the position of Livilla as the granddaughter of Livia, the daughter-in-law and niece of Tiberius, as well as the sister of Germanicus, who would be worthy of mention even if she were not so well connected. However, no mention is made of her husband Drusus. One gets the impression that as the sister of Germanicus and granddaughter of Julia

Augusta she could do more for her children's succession than as the wife of the son of Tiberius.

Rounding out the members of the imperial family are the children of Germanicus, particularly Nero, who was next in line after Drusus in the imperial succession. Also mentioned, although as Tacitus tells us (*Ann.* 3.18), originally overlooked, is Tiberius Germanicus, the future emperor Claudius (*SCPP* 146-151). Just like the other members of the family, they had learned restraint from Tiberius and Livia.

After giving thanks to the members of the imperial family, the Senate turned its attention to the other orders of Roman society. The stratified classes all share one common trait, loyalty toward the house of Augustus. First the equestrian order was praised, *quod fideliter intellexisset, quanta res et quam ad omnium salutem pietatemq(ue) pertinens ageretur, et quod frequentibus adclamationibus adfectum animi sui et dolorem de principis nostri filiq(ue) eius iniuris ac pro r(ei) p(ublicae) utilitate testatus sit* (*SCPP* 150-154). The virtue of *pietas* towards the *domus Augusta* was celebrated, as was the recognition that the *salus* of the *domus* was the *salus omnium*. Likewise, the equestrians joined the Senate in recognizing the extreme sorrow of Tiberius and Drusus and its detrimental effect on Rome.

When one recalls the public outcry after the death of the charismatic Germanicus, which was fueled further by the *pudicitia* of his wife Agrippina, it comes as no surprise that the Senate praised the plebs for its *pietas* toward the princeps and the memory of Germanicus. The decree goes so far as to admit that, *cum / effusissimis studiis ad repraesentandam poenam Cn. Pisonis patris ab semet ipsa / accensa esset, regi tamen exemplo equestris ordinis a principe nostro se passa sit* (*SCPP* 155-158). This seems a

veiled admission that the fervor demonstrated by the plebs against Piso was nearly out of control. However, the *SCPP* gives this enthusiasm a positive spin by demonstrating that the restraint the plebs exhibited by not lynching Piso when they had the chance was modeled on the actions of their princeps, who should have been the most outraged by the actions of Piso. The testimony of the *SCPP* seconds the assertions of later historians that the extreme popularity of Germanicus in the later reigns of his son Caligula and his brother Claudius was no less considerable in the reign of his uncle Tiberius.¹⁷³

Last but not least, the army is thanked for its loyalty towards the *domus Augusta* (*SCPP* 159-165). As we mentioned above, this is the first time the phrase *domus Augusta* appears in an official context. The importance of the context here cannot be overstressed. The instructions for the publication of this document stated that it was to be posted in Rome, in the provinces, and, *in hibernis cuiusq(ue) legionis at signa* (172). As Griffin remarks in her review of the edition of the *SCPP* by Eck, Caballos, and Fernández, “As regarding the relationship of the Senate to the ‘imperial provinces’ we see once again, as in the *Tabula Siarensis*, the Senate ordering publication of its decrees in all the provinces of the Empire. Even more striking, however, is the fact stressed by the editors (266) that this is the first example we have of the Senate’s ordering one of its decrees to be set up in the winter headquarters of each of the legions (l. 172).”¹⁷⁴

The language of the *SCPP* makes it clear that the army was being praised for not allowing itself to be persuaded by Piso to abandon its loyalty to the ruling house. The contrast explicitly stated in the *SCPP* between the Pisoniani and the Caesariani mentioned earlier among the crimes of Piso (ll. 55-56) revives the image of Pompeians

¹⁷³ See Versnel, “Destruction,” 541ff. and Fraschetti, “La Tabula Hebana,” 867ff. on the public’s self-imposed *iustitium* upon the arrival of the news at Rome that Germanicus was dead.

¹⁷⁴ “The Senate’s Story” 255.

and Caesarians from the civil wars. The Senate praises the loyalty of the army in terms which are impossible to misread, more specifically:

item senatum probare eorum militum fidem, quorum animi frustra sollicita/ti essent scelere Cn. Pisonis patris, omnesq(ue), qui sub auspiciis et imperio principis / nostri milites essent, quam fidem pietatemq(ue) domui Aug(ustae) praestarent, eam sperare / perpetuo praestatueros, cum scirent salutem imperi nostri in eius domu<s> custo / dis posita<m> esse{t}: senatum arbitrari eorum curae atq(ue) officii esse, ut aput eos ii, / qui quandoq(ue) ei<s> praessent, plurimum auctoritatis <haberent>, qui fidelissima pietate / salutare huic urbi imperioq(ue) p(opuli) R(omani) nomen Caesarum coluissent. (SCPP 159-165)

As the editors of the *SCPP* have pointed out, in the previous cases of thanksgiving, the Senate praised the past actions of members of the imperial house and Roman society.

Here however, the language of this document stresses the need for future loyalty from the army.¹⁷⁵

The primary focal points in this passage are the exhibition of *pietas* and *fides* towards the *domus Augusta* both in the past and in the future, as well as the promise of promotion for those who take care to protect the house on which the welfare of Rome depended. The importance of the army in maintaining the principate has been expressed in the most blatant terms. The uncertainty and insecurity is palpable in the words of the Senate which were to be displayed in every legion's winter quarters, by the *signa* which would have featured the emperor and possibly other members of the imperial family. The positive image of the imperial family, especially of Tiberius the general who fought under Augustus as the leader of some of these legions, contrasts sharply with the well-deserved and self-inflicted punishment experienced by the disloyal Piso.

Just as the dedication by Tiberius and Livia to Concordia in Rome was mirrored by dedications in the provinces to the same deity, the language of the decrees surrounding

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. 251.

the death of Germanicus is echoed in local dedications. The most significant of these dedications come from Lucus Feroniae and are dated to the years 27 A.D., after the death of Drusus and Germanicus, and 33 A.D., after the fall of Sejanus. The change in the language of the dedications shows the increasing importance of the *domus Augusta* over the rulership of Tiberius as princeps.

The first of these dedications:

*Ti(berio) Caesari divi / Augusti f(ilio) / divi Iulii n(epoti) / Augusto, co(n)s(uli) IV, tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXIX, imp(eratori) VIII / pontif(ici) maxim(o), auguri / XVvir(o) s(acris) f(aciundis), VIIvir(o) epu[lon]i / seviri au[g]usta[les] M(arcus) Ap[riu]s Largu[s] / Q(uintus) Pin[a]rius [F]austu[s] / ex honoraria sum[ma] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*¹⁷⁶

The second inscription reads:

*in honorem domus divinae / P(ublius) Sestius P(ublii) l(ibertus) Corumbus, sevir / augustalis, ex pecunia sua et / honoraria, ex decreto decurionum / L(ucio) Cornelio Sulla Felici / L(ucio) Livio Ocella Sulpicio Galba co(n)s(ulibus)*¹⁷⁷

Just as the *SCPP* used the phrase *domus Augusta* for the first time in an official Latin document, the dedicator of the second inscription at Lucus Feroniae directs his appeal to the *domus divina*. As Cogitore points out, this is the first evidence of this phrase being used epigraphically.¹⁷⁸

While the dedicatees of the two inscriptions are different, both of the inscriptions were probably accompanied by statuary and were approved by the decree of the *decuriones* of Lucus Feroniae. The shift in language from the dedication to Tiberius, which occurs at a time when the succession was in question, but still viable for the children of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, to the *domus divina* at a time when the only

¹⁷⁶ *AE* (1988) 549, cited in Cogitore, “Séries de dédicaces italiennes à la dynastie Julio-Claudienne,” *MEFRA* 104 (1992), cat. 79, p. 865.

¹⁷⁷ *AE* (1988) 552, cited in *ibid.*, cat. 83, p. 866.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 822.

members of the family left in the wake of the machinations of Sejanus and Agrippina were the young grandsons of Tiberius, Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus, demonstrates the awareness outside of Rome that the center of power could only now be approached through the charisma of Divus Augustus.

Cogitore takes this further. She points out that in the first dedication to Tiberius, the second line containing the name of Augustus (*Augusti filio*) is written significantly larger (11.3 cm) than the other lines (5.3 cm.).¹⁷⁹ She also posits that the statue which accompanied the second dedication was none other than that of Augustus and that the shift from the dedication to the princeps to the *domus Augusta*, “on se détache un peu des individus pour honorer une dynastie, tout en accordant cependant à Auguste une place prépondérante.”¹⁸⁰

Thus we see even twenty years after his death, the image of Augustus was being used to secure rule for Tiberius who had been emperor all this time. In both official documents such as the *SCPP*, *TH*, and *TS*, and local inscriptions such as the dedications in Lucus Feroniae, it appears that the longer Tiberius reigned, the more emphatically his power was based upon the dynastic charisma inspired by Augustus. Tiberius used the charisma of Germanicus and Agrippina, scions of the Julian house, to assure the continuance of the charismatic *beneficia* which the Roman world had enjoyed under Augustus. When Germanicus died, the attempt was made to shift the emphasis towards Drusus as his brother and the husband of his sister. Drusus’ charisma, like that of Tiberius, was derived from non-consanguinal connections with the *domus divina*. Livia’s role as the tie between Augustus and the Claudian side of the family was emphasized, as

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 823, n. 17.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 823.

was her position as Julia Augusta, the adopted daughter of Augustus. While she may have been restricted somewhat in the honors which she enjoyed, her symbolic value was deftly employed. As a result, the charisma of Augustus and that transferred to the *domus Augusta* formed the basis for the legitimization not only of Tiberius' principate, but of the principate itself.

Chapter 4

Tiberius and Augustan *consilia*

In the previous two chapters we have examined the imagery of charisma which was promoted during the reign of Tiberius. We have discussed how the charisma of Augustus was depersonalized in the reign of Tiberius through the institution of the imperial cult, and reassigned to the imperial household, and more importantly, to the position of princeps. In visual imagery and public documents as well, we have seen how the *domus Augusta* came to embody the charismatic spirit of the divine Augustus, as well as the ways in which Tiberius avoided the spotlight. But in order for a charismatic movement to endure, the changes which it brings about must be reinforced on a more fundamental level. It is not enough for images to survive. Those images must be associated with the security and prosperity of the Roman state.

The later years of Augustus witnessed a stabilization in both foreign and domestic affairs which had not been experienced before. The chaos of the last two centuries of the Republic had left a cultural imprint upon Roman society. If the regime of Augustus was not perfect, it was certainly preferable for the overwhelming majority of Romans to anything they had experienced before. Augustan *pax*, however, was the product of its charismatic leader. In order to ensure its perpetuation after his death, the image of Augustus which we have discussed in the previous two chapters had to be associated with the continuance of such stability. In Weberian terms, “In this process the two basically antagonistic forces of charisma and tradition regularly merge with one another.”¹ This fusion of charismatic authority which had been passed on to an uncharismatic leader and

¹ *Economy and Society* II.1122. See also II.1146ff., a section entitled “The Charismatic Legitimation of the Existing Order.”

the routinization of the institution which arose under that charismatic authority in the form of the principate, will provide the subject for our next area of investigation. So let us now examine how Tiberius continued the reorganization of Roman bureaucracy which had begun in the later years of Augustus, placing special emphasis on the relationship between charismatic authority and bureaucratic institutions.

A. Foreign Policy

According to Tacitus, our best source for the events following the death of Augustus, in the Senate meetings which took place to determine the position of Tiberius, the hesitating Tiberius ordered a *libellus* to be brought forth and read. The contents of the *libellus* are indicated by Tacitus as follows:

*Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes regna provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam (Ann. 1.11).*²

This last statement continues to spur debate not so much over the foreign policy of Tiberius, but over that of Augustus. The perhaps deliberately ambiguous phrasing of Tacitus leaves the reader unsure as to whether or not Augustus wrote this *consilium sua manu*. Indeed, as Augustus is technically not the subject of the second sentence itself, but of the relative clause, the subject of *addiderat* could be inferred to be Tiberius. Thus, the question arises, was the *consilium* that the borders of the Roman Empire be contained actually written by Augustus, or merely included by Tiberius among the last wishes of the dead princeps? Until recently, the statement of Tacitus had been accepted as

² The same account, with some variation, is given by Suetonius (*Aug.* 101), and Dio (56.33). Dio specifies four books, while Tacitus and Suetonius mention only three. The fourth book is highly suspect, but according to Dio, contained items similar to those mentioned by Tacitus as having been added by Augustus to his account of the empire. It matters not so much the number of books, but the fact that they contained this injunction to control imperial expansion, and that this was announced to the Senate as being the wish of Augustus.

evidence that in the later years of Augustus' reign, he had altered his formerly expansionist foreign policy. Most scholars pinpoint this shift as following the notorious disaster inflicted upon Varus and his legions.³ But more recently, others have seen that this assessment of Augustan foreign policy in his later years cannot be so easily accepted. As a seminal article by Josiah Ober has shown, the focus should be shifted away from using the actions of Tiberius after the death of Augustus to reconstruct late Augustan and subsequent Tiberian foreign policy, to examining the actions of the last years of Augustus' life as the basis for comparison.⁴

Moreover, emphasis should be placed on Tacitus' choice of words. If the phrase *sua manu* is meant to convey that Tiberius read this *consilium* to the Senate verbatim from the papers left by Augustus, the phrase *coercendi intra terminos imperii* could be reflective of the language used by Augustus. Likewise, the ambiguity of the subject of *addiderat* leaves open the question of whether Augustus or Tiberius added this policy. Whatever the case may be, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* gives three varying senses for *coercere* which could lead to differing interpretations for the statement made by Tacitus/Augustus/Tiberius. *Coercere* can mean, among other things: (2a) "to bound, enclose, shut in", (3a) "to restrict the growth of, constrict", or (6b) "to suppress by war, bring to submission".

While all of these may imply the same basic policy, the subtle nuance evoked by the last definition puts a different spin on Tiberian foreign policy besides just holding the

³ The acceptance of a shift in late Augustan foreign policy is rather commonplace, especially in generalizing works such as Charlesworth's article in the first edition of the *CAH* X 643ff., Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero* 268ff., Seager, *Tiberius* 174ff., Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* 143ff., and Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Power* 182.

⁴ "Tiberius and the Political Testament of Augustus," *Historia* 31 (1982) 306-328. My own observations correspond in many respects to those of Ober, but with a shift in emphasis more specific to the thesis of this study.

provinces already acquired by Augustus. Tiberius was being instructed not just to hold the borders where they were (as in definition 3a), but to consolidate the areas which had already been conquered by Augustus and reaffirm that the entire world had been subjected to Roman power (as in definition 6b). Tiberian foreign policy, and indeed, the continuation of Augustan foreign policy, thus becomes less a case of retrenchment, but more a case of consolidation and subjugation. Tiberius was not abandoning the imperial vision of Augustus, but rather reinforcing the dominance of Rome in the *orbis terrarum*. As Ando puts it, “His advice not to extend the borders of the empire would only have strengthened the impression that Augustus had bequeathed to the Romans an empire that was of itself complete and that had reached the natural limits of its territorial expansion.”⁵ When viewed in these terms, Tiberian imagery can project the view that the world had already been subjugated by Augustus while also allowing for the military glory of the young princes Germanicus and Drusus the Younger in much the same way that Augustan poetry mingled Augustan peace with the glory of Tiberius and his brother Drusus the Elder. Thus for Tiberius, both before and after his accession, as Orth puts it, “Es dominiert der Wille, das zu bewahren, was Augustus geschaffen hat.”⁶

In order to understand the importance of the statement made by Tacitus, and echoed in the accounts of Velleius, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio, first it is necessary to examine the commonly held view that Augustus was an expansionist throughout his career until the Pannonian revolts of 6-9 A.D. and, more importantly, the Varian disaster of 9 A.D. convinced him to alter his policy. The image of Augustus banging his head against a doorpost while demanding that Varus “*legiones redde!*”, his overwhelming fear

⁵ *Imperial Ideology* 151.

⁶ *Die Provinzialpolitik* 103.

that the Germans would break through to Italy, and his observance of the day as a *dies cladis quotannis* (Suet. *Aug.* 23), convey the notion that Augustus was so affected by this disaster that he felt compelled to drastically modify his foreign policy.

The first thing to be noted is that the Varian disaster only affected one border of the entire Roman empire. As a result, it cannot be taken as a model for Augustan policy on the eastern frontier. That will need to be dealt with separately. Although in dealing with imperial foreign policy, the difference between the western frontier and the eastern frontier is usually recognized, with reference to Augustan foreign policy, it is sometimes overlooked. So let us say that the Varian disaster leads us to believe that Augustus wanted to draw the border for the Roman empire in Germany not at the Elbe as he had originally planned, but at the Rhine, a closer and more defensible natural boundary. This would provide a nice, easy explanation not only for Augustan retrenchment, but also for Tacitus' statement cited above and the subsequent foreign policy of Tiberius. But is it accurate?

Whittaker's recent study on *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* argues that our understanding not only of the defensibility of natural borders, but also of the Roman frontier in general has been unduly influenced by modern imperial thought. That is to say, whereas modern foreign policy is guided by the accuracy of global positioning systems and satellite-based views of the earth which allow for microscopic precision in the definition of boundaries, ancient views of geography generated a completely different attitude towards borders.⁷ The variations between natural, cultural, scientific, and other

⁷ The relationship between cartography and imperialism in the ancient world has received a great deal of attention in recent years. See especially Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*, Whittaker, *Frontiers*, and Moynihan, "Geographical Mythology and Roman Imperial Ideology" in *The Age of Augustus* 149ff.

types of borders make it difficult to define the frontiers of the Roman empire. Thus the difference between organized provinces and areas which paid obeisance to Roman power forces us to reevaluate our views of Roman borders. Areas which were not under direct Roman control, that is to say organized under governors and subject to taxation, nevertheless were considered part of the Roman sphere of influence. We shall see shortly how, in the east, Rome claimed to control the kingdoms of Armenia and Parthia without entangling herself directly in either of these countries. In the west, the intrigues of Maroboduus, Arminius, and Segestes presented a different situation. Unlike the organized kingdoms of the east, these Gallo-Germanic tribes were difficult to locate geographically and politically. The power of the tribal chieftains was by no means secure and seemed based on their popularity and military ability. While the kingdoms of the east were organized societies familiar with the tactics employed by Rome, the tribes of the west were loosely governed nomadic cultures who had only recently discovered the tools of diplomacy in dealing with Roman imperialism.⁸ If concession and negotiation had proven successful among the more hellenistic realms of the east, among the barbarian tribes of Germany and Gaul a different type of foreign policy was necessary.

To return to the arguments of Whittaker, then, the treatment of Gallo-Germanic tribes could be seen as related to the profitability of the annexation of their territory. A famous passage from Strabo (2.5.8) regarding Augustus' neglect of the conquest of Britain planned by Caesar explains, in the words of Whittaker, "The peoples beyond the provinces are treated by Strabo as part of the empire, to whom *clementia* and *amicitia* are

⁸ On the influence of Greco-Roman society on the education and loyalty of eastern kings, see Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King* 9ff.

extended but who are not worth the cost of occupation because of the weakness of their economic infrastructure.”⁹

But anyone who has ever read the poems of the Augustan era knows that economic advantages were only a part of the reason for Roman conquest. In the famous words of Jupiter to his distraught daughter Venus, *his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; / imperium sine fine dedi* (*Aen.* 1.278-9). Roman honor was at stake, as well as her divine manifesto to conquer the world. While certain areas were profitable in their transformation into provinces, the entire *orbis terrarum* had to be seen as acquiescing to Roman supremacy.¹⁰ With these conceptions of *termini* and *imperium* in mind, Whittaker would then reinterpret the *consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii* left to Tiberius by Augustus as meaning, “Augustus was not talking about limiting Roman power to any military frontier but was making a statement about the domestic space of the organized provinces. He is saying, ‘Keep the *civil*, provincial boundaries where they are.’”¹¹

This is one explanation for the about face which Augustus seems to do after the Varian disaster and its subsequent influence on Tiberian foreign policy. But there is another. Ober points out, “In A.D. 13 Augustus sent his grand-nephew Germanicus, whom Tiberius had been forced to adopt as his son and heir presumptive, to command the eight legions on the Rhine. Velleius Paterculus (II, 123, 1) reports that Germanicus had been sent out by Augustus ‘*reliqua belli patraturum*.’ It seems quite clear that Germanicus was preparing for an attempt to reconquer the Germans east of the Rhine and

⁹ *Frontiers* 16.

¹⁰ On the importance of the terminology of *orbis* in its imperial context, see Vogt, *Orbis Romanus*.

¹¹ *Frontiers* 25. His italics.

that his preparations had been approved by Augustus.”¹² Moreover, as Ober points out, in 14 A.D., roads were being built for African expansion. Thus, the evidence would seem to suggest that in the last years of his life, Augustus was set on avenging Varus, reconquering Germany, and increasing Roman territory in Africa.

This imperialistic Augustus is far more in line with the vision of Augustus projected by the Roman poets, especially Vergil, Horace, and Propertius. All of these poets lived and wrote under Augustus, but did not outlive their emperor. They may all be seen as representatives of the ideal Rome Augustus was trying to project throughout his reign.¹³ Brunt, refuting the interpretation of Meyer that Augustus’ assessment of Roman *imperium* was different from the ideal projected by these poets, asserts:

The man who resolved at the age of nineteen to enter into Caesar’s heritage and by steady and subtle procedures made himself autocrat of the empire at the age of thirty-two was not wanting in audacity or largeness of vision. We cannot read his mind, but there are at least some indications in his own words and acts that the contemporary poets whom he honoured understood him better than Suetonius and Dio did, or than we can hope to do, if we impose upon him conceptions which alone seem rational in a very different age.¹⁴

Yet the three poets mentioned above did not live to see the final days of their princeps, nor did they bear witness to the Varian *clades*. Once again we must turn to the contemporary view related by Ovid for any hints about Augustus’ foreign policy in his later years and its relationship to the *consilium* left to Tiberius. It could be said that the emphasis of Ovid shifted from the future glories predicted by the earlier Augustan poets to the notion that the known world had already been conquered by Augustus, but as is

¹² “Tiberius” 319.

¹³ For a slightly different interpretation, see Meyer, *Die Aussenpolitik des Augustus und die augusteische Dichtung*, who argues that the ideal was different from the reality Augustus recognized. See also the review by Brunt cited in the next note.

¹⁴ *JRS* 53 (1963) 176.

typical with Ovid, this view is not monochromatic.¹⁵ The main reason for this shift in Ovid's view of the empire may not be so much a change in the empire, but a change in Ovid's situation, having shifted from the center to the periphery.

As Williams has shown in his study of the continuity and disruption in Ovid's pre-exilic poetry and that written from Pontus, Ovid's emphasis on the unconquered barbarians of Tomis forms a sharp contrast to the subjugation central to Augustan propaganda. He argues, "But while Ovid is 'there' at the very heart of the empire to witness in *Tristia* 4.2 the humbling of Germany (43-44) and the endless procession of captured kings and subjugated peoples, *his* Tomis in *his* distant outpost of the empire is constantly threatened by attack from peoples yet to be broken by Rome."¹⁶ Even more impolitic is the fact that, due to the Varian disaster, the imaginary triumph of Tiberius celebrated in this poem was not celebrated.

Ovid's ambivalent attempts to praise Augustus while bringing to the attention of the princeps the harsh realities of his exile inevitably failed. Williams notes, "The tension which results from Ovid's reliance on Augustus and yet his perception of the grim 'reality' behind the Augustan myth makes the exilic corpus one of the more interesting political documents of its age, especially as an oblique form of commentary on the nature of Augustan rule as witnessed not from the center of the empire, but from its margins."¹⁷

Ovid's viewpoint that the known world was far from pacified by the first princeps is contradicted in the official account by the subtitle of what is more commonly known as

¹⁵ The shift in Ovidian imperial imagery from Rome to Tomis is commented on by Meyer, *Aussenpolitik* 92ff., with the notion that Ovid emphasized peace in his later poetry.

¹⁶ "Ovid's exilic poetry: worlds apart" in *Brill's Companion to Ovid* 360-361. His italics.

¹⁷ Ibid. 368.

the *Res Gestae*. The title of the inscription reads, *Index rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit*. It is interesting to note that the Greek does not contain this superscript. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, the *Res Gestae* may have been an Augustan text, but it was a Tiberian inscription. The nomenclature honoring Augustus as *divus* enforces the notion that while Augustus wrote the *Res Gestae sua manu*, Tiberius was responsible for the subtitle.¹⁸ As such, the language of conquest in the *Res Gestae* contains our best information concerning the attitude of Augustus towards the Roman world and its periphery, but its inscription encapsulates the image of Augustan *pax* which Tiberius wanted the Roman audience to recognize.

The conception of Augustan peace is, of course, best embodied in the Ara Pacis, but it is also connected to the temple of Janus.¹⁹ Augustus himself links these two concepts together in his *Res Gestae*. Immediately following his commemoration of the dedication of the Ara Pacis, Augustus boasts that the gates to the temple of Janus, *quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax*, and which were closed only twice prior to Augustus, had been closed three times during his reign (*RG* 13). No mention is made of their re-opening, dated by Orosius to 11 A.D. The question begs further examination in trying to determine whether the gates of Janus were open or closed upon the death of Augustus.

In book six of his *History against the pagans*, the fifth century historian Orosius claims concerning Augustus, *Iani portas tertio ipse tunc clausit, quas ex eo per duodecim*

¹⁸ Mommsen asserts in his commentary ad. loc, “venit igitur a Tiberio aut certe ab eo, cui Tiberius de ea re mandaret.”

¹⁹ On the connection between the Ara Pacis and the temple of Janus, see Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* 31ff.

fere annos quietissimo semper obseratas otio ipsa etiam robigo signavit, nec prius umquam nisi sub extrema senectute Augusti pulsatae Athiensium seditione et Dacorum commotione patuerunt (6.22). That the end of the twelve years of peace is dated to 11 A.D. is terribly convenient for the Christian historian in placing the third closing of the gates of Janus mentioned in the *Res Gestae*, and significantly not dated by any contemporary or near-contemporary author, in the year 2 B.C., the year Orosius deems to be the year of the birth of Christ. This claim of 2 B.C. for the third closing of the gates of Janus has been rejected for many reasons, not the least of which being the military prowess which was soon to be exhibited against the Parthians by the rising star of the Julian household, Gaius Caesar.²⁰

But Orosius' claim that the gates of Janus were re-opened in the later years of the reign of Augustus is less easy to dismiss than his fabrication of the dating for the third closing. He later states in a different context, *deinde, ut verbis Corneli Taciti loquar, sene Augusto Ianus patefactus, dum apud externos terrarum terminos novae gentes saepe ex usu et aliquando cum damno quaeruntur, usque ad Vespasiani duravit imperium* (7.3.7). Orosius seems to be citing a lost part of the *Histories* of Tacitus in claiming that the gates of Janus were re-opened in the old age of Augustus and not closed again until the time of Vespasian. The problem arises in defining the phrase *sene Augusto* in this passage and *extrema senectute Augusti* in the previous passage.

Syme, in a thorough treatment of these and other passages, has concluded that "The Gates of War were unbarred in 1 B.C.—and they remained open for the rest of the

²⁰ The best treatment of the dates regarding the closing of the gates of Janus can be found in Syme, "Problems about Janus," *AJP* 100 (1979) 188-212=RP 3.1179-1197. See also idem, *History in Ovid* 22ff.

reign.”²¹ This date, taking into account the figure of twelve years between the third closing and the last re-opening, would place the last closing of the gates of Janus at the ceremonious date of 13 B.C., the consecration of the Ara Pacis, the culmination of the Pax Augusta. The passage from Tacitus, more reliable than Orosius’ own inferences, indicates only *sene Augusto*. Syme notes that Augustus would have been “verifiably a ‘senex’ on his sixtieth birthday in September of the year 3 B.C.”²² Thus, reasoning from Tacitus, it seems likely that the gates of Janus were open during the last fifteen years or so of the reign of Augustus and remained open until they were closed again under the reign of Vespasian. This would also explain why Ovid omits the closing of the gates of Janus in his passage dedicated to that god in the *Fasti* (1.279-81).²³ The fact that the gates remained open at Augustus’ death seems to indicate that he did not view his mission of bringing the *pax Romana* to the entire world as completed. The fact that Tiberius left them open indicates his unwillingness to expropriate *parta victoriis pax*.

In the sphere of art, as we saw in the previous chapter, the image of Augustus as *triumphator* over the Oikumene and seated beside Roma, epitomized neatly on the Gemma Augustea, symbolizes in visual form the imagery employed by the Augustan poets and the rhetoric of the *Res Gestae*. Just as Tiberius is mentioned as a general fighting under the auspices of Augustus in the *Res Gestae*, likewise, Tiberius is depicted on the *Gemma Augustea* as the general through whom the blessings of Augustan Victoria are bestowed upon the Oikumene. Likewise on the Boscoreale Cups and the breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, Tiberius is portrayed as the mediator of Augustan Victory. And as we saw on the Grand Camée and the Sheath of Tiberius, even

²¹ “Problems,” *RP* 3.1185.

²² *Ibid.* 3.1184.

²³ On this point see Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti* 185ff.

after the death of Augustus, the victories of Germanicus are ascribed ultimately to Augustus.

This same ideology is echoed in the words of Strabo, who ends his assessment of the holdings of the Roman empire after the death of Augustus, but before that of Germanicus, with the statement that the Romans have never enjoyed such peace before as they enjoyed under Augustus and were continuing to experience under Tiberius.²⁴

Tiberius his son (*huios*) now uses Augustus as a model, κανόνα τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ τῶν προσαγγμάτων ποιούμενος ἐκείνον (6.4.2). Likewise, Tiberius is passing these principles on to his sons, who assist their father in continuing the work of Augustus.

Thus, in searching for answers to the questions surrounding Tiberian foreign policy, it is crucial to understand that after the deaths of Agrippa and his brother Drusus, Tiberius was the only experienced general left with connections to the house of Augustus. Indeed, he rushed to Augustus' deathbed in Nola from his journey to rejoin his army in Illyricum and resume fighting. It is this experience throughout the empire, but especially in the western arena of operations, that may have led Tiberius to fabricate or manipulate the final *consilium* of Augustus towards a more defensive end. If Tiberius could embellish Augustus' claim to have pacified the *oikumene* and ensure that any non-expansionist policy would be attributed to the last wishes of the new Divus, the new princeps could convince the other *principes* what his own experience on the banks of the Rhine and the Elbe had already taught him—that expanding the empire was an unnecessary and unprofitable waste of time and resources.

²⁴ On Strabo's view of Augustus and his imperialist policies, see Lasserre, "Strabon devant l'Empire romain," *ANRW* II.30.1.867ff.

Having said all these things about Augustan and Tiberian foreign policy in general, we should now focus on particular areas of the empire and their treatment under these two emperors, bearing in mind that the policy of the young Octavian and the older Augustus may not always be uniform. Likewise, the non-expansionist policy which Tiberius claimed was left behind by his predecessor did not stop the new emperor from annexing territory through peaceful means, as well as celebrating the recovery of the standards plundered from the massacre of Quintilius Varus. Thus we shall need to ask ourselves throughout this study: how expansionist was Augustus in the final years of his reign and how non-expansionist was Tiberius?

Let us begin then in the west, the most problematic sphere with reference to late Augustan foreign policy. Once again returning to the *Res Gestae*, we see that Augustus chooses to open his section on foreign policy with the following words:

Omnium provinciarum populi Romani quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes quae non parerent imperio nostro fines auxi. Gallias et Hispanias provincias et Germaniam qua includit Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi. Alpes a regione ea quae proxima est Hadriano mari ad Tuscanum pacari feci nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato. Classis mea per Oceanum ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad fines Cimbrorum navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit, Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt. (RG 26)

Keeping in mind that although the *Res Gestae* was written throughout the lifetime of Augustus, it was not finished until the last year of his life, one particular tribe of Germans is conspicuous by its absence. The Cherusci, the tribe of Arminius, slaughterers of Varus and betrayers of Roman trust, are not mentioned among the list of tribes who were subjected to Roman hegemony. While the language of the passage above is as ambiguous and mysterious as the sphinx on the signet ring which Augustus at one time

wore in imitation of another great conqueror, Alexander the Great, further examination of his own words may help us to determine exactly where Augustus thought the borders of Roman Germany (if there was such a thing) lay upon his death.

First of all, it is necessary to deal with the distinction between natural boundaries and cultural frontiers. The Germanic tribes were largely nomadic, and it is worth noticing that Augustus lists his German conquests and explorations not only in terms of rivers like the Rhine and the Elbe, but also in terms of tribes. And if one does examine the list of tribes who were loyal to Rome or subjected after rising up against Roman *imperium*, it could be said that Tiberian Rome held power over German tribes up to the Elbe, the “border” of the conquests which took place under Augustus. But the definition of Roman *imperium* and its relationship to the Germanic tribes and the landscape of Germany causes the ambiguity that continues to puzzle modern scholars.

In the most thorough examination of Augustan foreign policy in Germany to date, Wells, integrating historical sources with archeological evidence, summarizes Augustus’ attitude towards the Elbe as a border for Roman conquest in the following manner:

There is in particular no reason whatsoever to suppose that Augustus aimed to establish the frontier on the line of the Elbe and Danube. Apart from lack of any evidence for such an intention, such a frontier would not be easy to defend, and if it were, the Romans in the then state of geographical knowledge would scarcely have known it. Germany was in fact conquered, probably to the Elbe, and Varus was carrying out the job entrusted to him of imposing taxation and regular civil administration when he was killed.²⁵

Velleius Paterculus writes of the German campaigns of the elder Drusus and, subsequent to his death, of his elder brother Tiberius, as culminating in Roman conquest of this territory. He writes that Tiberius, *sic perdomuit eam [Germaniam], ut in formam paene stipendiariae redigeret provinciae* (2.97). The phrasing of the conquest of

²⁵ *The German Policy of Augustus* 249.

Germania as *in formam paene stipendiariae provinciae* indicates the tenuous control that Rome held over Germany. Velleius does not say that Germany was made into a province *per se*, only that it was considered as part of the Roman empire. Dio writes that at the time of the Varian catastrophe, εἶχόν τινα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀθρόα ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχε χειρωθέντα, διὸ οὐδὲ ἐς ἱστορίας μνήμην ἀφίκετο· καὶ στρατιωταί τε αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἐχείμαζον καὶ πόλεις συνωκίζοντο (56.18.1-2). Dio also portrays the German territories as being in the process of civilization, but not yet fully conquered by the Romans. Indeed, some blame this ambivalence concerning the status of Germany on the cavalier attitude of Varus himself. According to Dio (56.18.3ff.) and Velleius (2.117ff.), it was his overconfidence regarding the obedience of the Germans which led to his slaughter.²⁶

Once again we are forced to ask what constituted Roman *imperium* over another race or nation. The language of the Augustan poets and the language of the *Res Gestae* indicate that even territories which were not consolidated into provinces were considered as part of Roman *imperium*, including foreign kings who acknowledged Roman supremacy through tribute and the submission of hostages. The most famous of these client kingdoms were of course Armenia and Parthia which we shall deal with below. But the German and even British chieftains were also included under the rubric of client kingdoms (*RG* 31-32), and their submission to Rome conflicts with the image of the uprisings in Illyricum and the disasters incurred by Lollius and Varus.

The Roman view of Germany in the wake of the Varian disaster cannot simply be seen as a defensive policy of conceding land east of the Rhine and giving up plans to

²⁶ On Varus as a possible scapegoat for the massacre of his men, see Woodman's commentary on Velleius ad. loc.

“conquer” territory up to the Elbe. Rather, German policy in the later years of Augustus, a policy advocated and advanced upon during the reign of Tiberius, consisted not so much in military conquest, but in the acceptance of submission to Roman superiority by these client kings. As Tuschow summarizes, “Am plausibelsten scheint mir die Deutung zu sein, dass sich Augustus nach dem Rückschlag von 9 n. Chr. Entschlossen hat, das Klientelstaatensystem des Orients nun auch hier an der Nordwestgrenze des Reichs planmässig aufzubauen...”²⁷

Thus Roman policy in Germany with regards to both Augustus and Tiberius should be defined as neither offensive nor defensive, but rather diplomatic. Tiberius himself boasted, *se novies a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum plura consilio quam vi perfecisse* (*Ann.* 2.27). By negotiating with client kings, Tiberius achieved the goals which Augustus had desired. In the words of Tacitus, upon the death of Augustus, *bellum ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum, quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob praemium* (*Ann.* 1.3).

If the sole motive for military conquest in Germany, particularly under the leadership of Germanicus, was not extension of the empire or financial gain, then it stands to reason that Tiberius was completely justified in recalling his nephew from Germany once the standards lost by Varus (or at least the majority of them) had been recovered. Tacitus’ sinister motivation of Tiberius’ jealousy over his nephew’s military success is absurd. Tiberius had proven himself an able general many times in the same areas where Germanicus was now unleashing the fury of his troops to prevent them from

²⁷ “Die Abberufung des Germanicus (16 n. Chr.). Ein Beispiel für die Kontinuität römischer Germanienpolitik von Augustus zu Tiberius,” in *Monumentum Chiloniense* 166ff.

reviving their mutiny. More likely, Tiberius' attitude that, *posse et Cheruscos ceterasque rebellium gentis, quoniam Romanae ultioni consultum esset, internis discordiis relinqui* (*Ann.* 2.26), was the correct posture to take in Germany.

Dieter Timpe, in his thorough treatment of the *Feldzuge* of Germanicus in the years immediately following the death of Augustus, sees the campaigns waged by Germanicus as completely in accordance with the policy of Augustus in the last years of his life. The war waged by Germanicus can be seen as a continuation of the military effort begun by Tiberius in Germany in the wake of the *Varusschlacht* of 9 A.D.²⁸

Velleius tells us regarding these military efforts:

His auditis revolat ad patrem Caesar [Tiberius]; perpetuus patronus Romani imperii adsuetam sibi causam suscipit. mittitur ad Germaniam, Gallias confirmat, disponit exercitus, praesidia munit, se magnitudine sua non fiducia hostium metiens, qui Cimbricam Teutonicamque militiam Italiae minabantur. ultro Rhenum cum exercitu transgreditur <et> arma infert quae arcuisse pater et patria contenti erant. (2.120)

Aside from the somewhat panegyric nature of Velleius' prose, one thing stands out. Tiberius had gone above and beyond what Augustus had expected of him after the slaughter of Varus. He did cross the Rhine and continue to wage war, not on a defensive level, but on an offensive level. He was driving at retaliation and consolidation of territory seen by the Romans as previously conquered by his own efforts and those of his brother Drusus. Germanicus had been sent to Tiberius to be trained to continue the war which the more experienced general had already begun. For Tiberius to recall Germanicus must mean that Tiberius, an expert in German military affairs, saw more from Rome than the less-experienced Germanicus could see in the field.

²⁸ *Der Triumph des Germanicus* 18ff.

Nevertheless, the recall of Germanicus did not mean, as it appeared to Tacitus, that a *bellum...quia conficere prohibitus est, pro confecto accipiebatur* (*Ann.* 2.41), but rather that the goal of the war—the retrieval of the standards lost by Varus and the undermining of Arminius as a threat to the *pax Romana*—had been achieved.²⁹ Once again, we see the ill-defined view of the Romans with regards to conquered territory. Acknowledgement of Roman supremacy was the primary requirement for inclusion under the rubric of *imperium*. Segestes, the chieftain of the Cherusci, acknowledged such supremacy, but his recalcitrant son-in-law and rival chieftain Arminius continued to harass the forces of Germanicus. But by driving the wedge between these two men deeper among the Cherusci, Germanicus was able to subdue the German tribe most hostile to the Romans.

After the movements of Germanicus in these years, the Romans had achieved peace with certain tribes, as well as having captured Arminius' wife and his unborn son. The loss of prestige inflicted on Arminius by these campaigns waged by Germanicus led to the Romans regaining control over Germany and the area between the Rhine and the Elbe. Germanicus celebrated a triumph under just such terms. Strabo, who revised his *Geography* in the early years of the reign of Tiberius, before the death of Germanicus, heralds this triumph in his treatment of the German tribes. He mentions that these tribes have become known to the Romans through warfare, *κἂν πλείω δὲ γνώριμα ὑπήρξεν, εἰ ἐπέτρεπε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὁ Σεβαστὸς διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἄλβιν, μετιοῦσι τοὺς ἐκείσε*

ἀπανισταμένους (7.4). Thus, in his later years, or at least as Strabo understood it,

²⁹ See Timpe, *Triumph* 59ff., who observes that the artistry of Tacitus prevents us from separating the emotional components from the rational in the conflict between Tiberius and Germanicus. More on this relationship and the view of Tacitus will follow in the section in chapter 5 regarding imperial succession.

Augustus saw the Elbe as the border of Germany, viewing the tribes beyond the Elbe as non-submissive to Roman hegemony.

In agreement with the *fasti Amiternini* and the *fasti Ostienses* for May 26, 17 A.D., Tacitus reports, *C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a. d. VII Kal. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis Chattisque et Angrivariis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt* (*Ann.* 2.41). It should be recalled that in the *Res Gestae*, Augustus avers, *Germaniam qua includit Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi* (*RG* 26). Thus the Elbe retains its importance as the boundary for the holdings of Rome in Germany. There has been no retrenchment under either Augustus or Tiberius. The border of the empire remains at the Elbe and is not, at least in the eyes of the Roman public, moved back to the Rhine. Moreover, while the ultimate goal of conquest may have been the ocean, in Tiberian times the Elbe is stressed as the limit of the empire as Augustus left it.³⁰ Under Tiberius, the idea of an Augustan boundary at the Elbe, which probably was never the case, as well as the notion that German matters were settled by the dealings of Germanicus and Drusus, crystallized into a defensive policy attributed to Augustus by modern historians which may never have existed.

Thus, upon the recall of Germanicus, Germany was seen to be re-pacified. What Germanicus had achieved through his conquests was not only a military success, but it had sown the seeds of discontent which Tiberius and his son Drusus would nurse among the German tribes until finally more was achieved through diplomacy than through all Germanicus' posturing with the Roman army, and at a much lower cost in terms of both

³⁰ On this controversial issue of the Elbe as a border see Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy* 90ff., as well as the thorough treatment of Wells, *German Policy* 5ff.

men and materials. Indeed, Tiberius' *laissez-faire* German policy proved most fruitful against Rome's two greatest threats in this territory—Arminius and Maroboduus.

It was not a costly and destructive military campaign which broke the power of these two leaders, but rather the infighting and intrigues that undermined their effectiveness among their own people. As for Arminius, not only his father-in-law Segestes, but even his own brother Flavus was steadfastly allied with the Romans. Arminius himself had been able to betray Varus by feigning such loyalty, and Timpe has gone so far as to claim that the real motivation behind the slaughter of Varus was more along the lines of a military mutiny than a nationalistic movement.³¹ But it was the defection of his uncle Inguiomerus which ultimately undermined the authority of Arminius among his own tribe the Cherusci and their alliance with the Chatti. In his “obituary” of Arminius, Tacitus attests that an embassy approached Tiberius from the Chatti offering to poison the leader in return for Roman clemency. Tiberius refused to stoop so low. But inevitably, Arminius was attacked by his own people and *dolo propinquorum cecedit* (*Ann.* 2.88).

While Arminius may have been the chief military enemy of the Romans among the German tribes, Maroboduus could be viewed as having achieved a level of leadership among his people which placed him on a level with the eastern client-kings. Maroboduus had formally entered into a treaty with Tiberius under Augustus in 6 A.D. which allowed him to retain power over his kingdom and to be treated as an ally of the Roman people. When the Germans began to war amongst themselves after the withdrawal of

³¹ *Arminius-Studien* 49ff. He postulates, “...der Cherusker dann auch die Erhebung gegen Varus als römischer Offizier und nicht als Stammeshäuptling begonnen haben müsste und dass die Varuskatastrophe mithin nicht die Folge eines germanischen Stammesaufstandes gegen die römische Okkupationsmacht, sondern die einer Meuterei der germanischen Auxilien gegen die Legionen des Rheinheeres gewesen wäre.”

Germanicus, just as Tiberius had predicted they would, Maroboduus was compelled to ask Tiberius for military assistance. Tiberius refused on the grounds that when the Romans had requested aid from Maroboduus against the same enemy, i.e. Arminius, Maroboduus chose to remain neutral (*Ann.* 2.46). Tiberius neglected to mention that at the time of the *clades Variana*, he was himself preparing to invade areas over which Maroboduus claimed sovereignty.

Nevertheless, Tiberius sent out his son Drusus to facilitate matters in Germany. Drusus proved his diplomatic skills were worthy of his father's confidence. Tacitus states, *Dum ea aestas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit inliciens Germanos ad discordias, utque fracto iam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur* (*Ann.* 2.62). By stirring up internal discord, Drusus was able to undermine Maroboduus' authority in a way that Germanicus through his military efforts was not. Ironically, it was Arminius whose actions ultimately led to the submission of one of Rome's greatest enemies, as Maroboduus was forced to seek *miser cordia Caesaris* (*Ann.* 2.63). Tiberius wisely decided to keep Maroboduus as a hostage at Ravenna, along with the wife and child of Arminius, as a control over potential threats among the dominant tribes of Germany.

In the speech which Tiberius gives before the Senate regarding these matters, Tacitus quotes him as saying, "*non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse*" (*Ann.* 2.63). Tiberius, known for his *moderatio*, had no reason to exaggerate this threat. He speaks from experience, having dealt personally with Maroboduus and his people. For Tiberius to make such a declaration in front of the Senate is tantamount to claiming that the biggest threat in

Germany had been removed. The elimination of Maroboduus as a royal figure, whose kingdom encompassed a good deal of territory surrounding the Elbe, once again indicates Roman control over this territory, the territory which supposedly encompassed the *imperium* left by Augustus to Tiberius and which was to be consolidated by the latter.

While Drusus was busy eliminating Maroboduus as a threat to Rome's western provinces by means of diplomacy, his cousin Germanicus was doing likewise in the eastern territories of the Roman Empire. The dealings of Germanicus in Parthia and Armenia were not merely an excuse to remove him from his German command, but rather part of a long tradition of preparing the next-in-line for the imperial throne, so to speak, for dealing with the greatest threat to Roman hegemony and world empire—Parthia. The tradition for sending the second-in-command of the Roman principate to settle matters in Parthia dates back to the days when Agrippa was sent out by Augustus to deal with eastern affairs. However, the best parallels with respect to Germanicus are those regarding Tiberius' receipt of the Parthian standards in 20 B.C., and the dealings of Gaius Caesar with the Parthians and Armenians in 2 B.C.

The thrones of Parthia and Armenia were often a source of internal and external conflict, and control of Armenia was crucial to maintaining Roman superiority over Parthia. The Romans chose to deal with these two kingdoms through diplomacy, recognizing that the conquest of territories east of the Euphrates was beyond Roman capabilities at this time.³² In the words of Velleius, watching Gaius meet the Parthian king on the Euphrates, *Quod spectaculum stantis ex diverso hinc Romani, illinc Parthorum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperiorum et hominum coirent*

³² For "the Augustan solution" to matters in the East, see Sherwin-White, *Roman foreign policy in the East* 322ff.

capita (2.101). Parthia was seen as an equal power, and yet somehow her acquiescence to Roman superiority indicated inferiority. In other words, Parthia may have been another *imperium*, but Rome was the *imperium*.

As Mattern observes, “Evidence indicates that Augustus and his immediate successors may have feared a full-scale confrontation with Parthia.” However, she also postulates, “It is possible that in fact the emperor was following Caesar’s plan, waiting to complete the subjection of Europe, which of course never happened.”³³ There are indications that Gaius was scouting out territory during his expedition in 2 B.C., and that Augustus may have intended to eventually attack Parthia under the leadership of his adopted son. If this is true, then one must ask, as in the case of Germany, how much of this defensive view of Augustan foreign policy was actually Augustan, and how much was the result of re-reading Augustan policy through the lens of Tiberian writers.

In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus claims, *A me gentes Parthorum et Medorum per legatos principes earum gentium reges petitos acceperunt* (RG 33). This assertion establishes that Roman hegemony was recognized by Parthia, and that Parthia’s very existence as an independent entity was due to Roman *clementia*. But Augustus recognized that war with Parthia was not feasible, and as Dio tells us regarding the return of the standards by Parthia, Augustus, καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφρόνει μέγα λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκοντὶ ἐκεκόμιστο (54.8). This *Schadenfreude* is confirmed by Augustan coins celebrating the recovery of the standards and heralding SIGN(a) RECE(pta) and ARME(nia) CAPT(a) (Figure 4.1).³⁴ Thus Augustan policy in

³³ *Rome and the Enemy* 107.

³⁴ *RIC* 286-290, 304-307.

the east closely resembles Tiberian policy in Germany to do more through diplomacy than through military campaigning.

Likewise regarding Armenia, Augustus asserts:

Armeniam maiorem interfecto rege eius Artaxe cum possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regnum id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per Ti. Neronem tradere, qui tum mihi privignus erat. Et eandem gentem postea desiscentem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobarzani regis Medorum Artabazi filio regendam tradidi et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi. (RG 27)

Thus the control over the thrones of these eastern kingdoms, as well as the settlement of power, was something which Augustus saw as the right of the Roman people. Moreover, the settlement of these matters was a training exercise in diplomacy for the successor to the throne, particularly in the cases of the young Tiberius and his adopted brother Gaius.

For Germanicus, then, to be sent to the east to settle affairs in Armenia and Parthia, was completely in agreement with the foreign policy of Augustus, and should not be seen as a deliberate attempt to remove Germanicus from command of the German armies.³⁵ Germanicus would, in fact, be even more powerful as the head of the eastern armies, bringing with him the support of the troops in Germany. Tiberius' fatal mistake in this whole matter was the appointment of Piso as *adiutor* to Germanicus. Nevertheless, what is important in the context of the current discussion is that Tiberius was following Augustan policy in the east to the letter by sending his nephew and adopted son to place a new king on the Armenian throne.

Part of the Roman strategy for instilling loyalty in the "client kings" of the east, was to receive hostages from eastern kingdoms to be raised at Rome in the household of

³⁵ On Germanicus' mission in the east, see Pani, "La missione di Germanico in Oriente: politica estera e politica interna," in *Germanico: la persona, la personalità, il personaggio* 1-23.

the princeps.³⁶ The most famous of these royal children, at least in terms of his closeness to the imperial family, was Herod Agrippa of Judaea. But the Parthians, as should be recalled from the previous chapter, handed over hostages as well as the standards they had plundered from Mark Antony and Crassus. Augustus recounts in his *Res Gestae*, *ad me rex Parthorum Phrates Orodus filius filios suos nepotesque omnes misit in Italiam non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per liberorum pignora petens* (32).

From among these children of the royal household, future kings were selected for foreign thrones. They had been raised at Rome and would presumably be loyal to her. This was not always the case, as the example of Vonones demonstrates. One of the children of the Parthian king sent to Rome, he had been placed on the throne of Parthia at the request of the Parthian nobles, but had proven too Roman for their tastes. He was ousted after three years of rule in 11 A.D., and his successor, Artabanus, threw him out of the country. Vonones then fled to Armenia, which Tacitus describes as, *vacua tunc interque Parthorum et Romanas opes infida ob scelus Antonii, qui Artavasden regem Armeniorum, specie amicitiae inlectum, dein catenis oneratum, postremo interfecerat* (*Ann.* 2.3).³⁷ Vonones came to Armenia while the throne was vacant and decided to settle in and assume power. Needless to say, this arrangement did not sit well with the Parthian king Artabanus, who threatened war. Vonones was subsequently removed to Syria.

Such was the state of affairs in the east which required the diplomatic attention of Germanicus. While the expansion of Roman conquests in Germany may have promised glory and honor, the Parthian threat was too real to be ignored. Germanicus thus

³⁶ On this phenomenon, see esp. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King* 9ff.

³⁷ For a nice summary of the Armenian kings up to the year 17 A.D., see Jackson's note ad. loc. in the Loeb edition.

successfully installed a member of the royal family of Pontus on the Armenian throne. Zeno, who was to be re-named Artaxias after he received his power from Germanicus, was an adherent to Armenian customs, and through his connection to the loyal Pontus, a good choice for the Romans. The choice also proved acceptable to the Parthian king, and the peace in the east held for twenty years until the last years of Tiberius' reign.

Levick compares this settlement in 17 A.D. to the way things had been arranged under Augustus in 2 B.C. as follows: "Rome was now in a stronger position than she had been eighteen years before. It was her candidate and not the Parthian's who was on the throne of Armenia, and there was no need to acknowledge Parthian equality. Tiberius' choice too was astute or fortunate."³⁸ Unfortunately, after Zeno-Artaxias died in 34 A.D., Artabanus was still holding firm and menacing control over Parthia and demanded more than he had seventeen years prior. More importantly, no imperial prince or trusted legate remained who could carry out diplomatic relations as had been done in the past. Matters in the east remained unstable until Lucius Vitellius, the father of the future emperor, negotiated with Artabanus for Parthian support of the Roman nominee to the throne of Parthia. Levick points out, "These negotiations came at the very end of Tiberius' principate, so near his death that they could be ascribed to the reign of Gaius. But Tiberius deserves the credit."³⁹

Thrace was also a problem for Tiberius, as it was for Augustus. In 18 A.D., the joint king of Thrace, Rhescuporis, having been installed by Augustus, was spurred by the death of Augustus to antagonize the areas of Thrace possessed by his nephew Cotys.

Since, according to Tacitus, *nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne composita*

³⁸ *Tiberius the Politician* 146. The negotiations of Vitellius are related by Tacitus *Ann.* 6.31-38, 41-44, having taken place in 35 and 36 A.D.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 147.

turbarentur (*Ann.* 2.65), the clever princeps tricked the Thracian king into coming to Rome and replaced him with the children of Cotys, the nephew whom Rhescuporis had treacherously slain (*Ann.* 2.64ff.). He subsequently assigned the kingdom of Rhescuporis to Rhoemetalces, the son of Rhescuporis, and that of Cotys, to the children of Cotys. Until the children should be old enough to rule for themselves, Tiberius designated Trebellianus Rufus to be their regent and tutor.

But he did not annex this troublesome territory, recognizing as Augustus did that the costs to keep it would be too high. Nor did he hand it over when the children of Cotys came of age, although Caligula did so with great pomp and circumstance (Dio 59.12.2). Eventually Claudius decided to add the territory to the empire, and as Levick speculates:

It may be that Tiberius was contemplating the annexation that Claudius was to carry out; if so, he took no further steps towards it....It is no surprise that Tiberius left the western kingdom untouched; Rhoemetalces was performing, though with moderate success, exactly the duties that Strabo considered to be those of the client king on the spot. The wisdom in Tiberius' policy was made clear in AD 46, when Claudius annexed Thrace and had to fight for it; and the new province, though small in area, proved too difficult for a procuratorial governor to manage; Trajan handed it over to an imperial legate.⁴⁰

Outside of these minor disruptions in tributary kingdoms, one more area of the Roman empire caused Tiberius problems. Africa, added to the dominions of the Roman empire after the third Punic War, and adjacent Egypt, annexed by Augustus after Actium but kept separate from other provinces, provided the overwhelming preponderance of Roman grain.⁴¹ Just as in modern America we view the middle east as a giant oil well,

⁴⁰ Ibid. 142.

⁴¹ On the importance of Egypt and Africa in supplying grain to the capital, see Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* 68ff.

Rome saw Africa as its primary source of food. A rebellion in Africa could have serious consequences for Rome.

In the early years of Tiberius' principate a rebellion was stirred up among the nomadic tribes in the hinterlands of Rome's African holdings by the native Tacfarinas. His guerilla tactics kept the Romans harried and posed a threat to Roman pacification of Africa. Nevertheless, while Tacitus accuses Tiberius of taking the whole situation too lightly, particularly in his premature recall of Julius Blaesus, Tiberius surely understood the attacks of Tacfarinas to be more of an annoyance than a threat. As Levick states, "The importance of Tacfarinas' rebellion is not to be exaggerated. Tacitus had his own reasons for magnifying it. It was only one episode in a long process and it constituted no threat to the unity of the empire."⁴²

Indeed, when Tiberius addressed the Senate concerning the matter, he expressed shock not at Tacfarinas' success, but at his audacity. The temerity of the rebel prompted him *ut legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi atque exercitui suo postularet aut bellum inexplicabile minitaretur. non alias magis sua populi que Romani contumelia indoluisse Caesarem ferunt, quam quod desertor et praedo hostium more ageret* (Ann. 3.73). Tiberius further compared Tacfarinas with Spartacus, who had made such demands when he had brought Italy to its knees. But the African was dealing with a different Rome than that of Spartacus. This Rome was at the height of her power (*pulcherrimo populi Romani fastigio*), and no *latro* in a distant province was in any position to make demands of her. After seven years of skirmishes, Tacfarinas finally succumbed to the strategy of Dolabella, who failed to receive triumphal honors, and Africa remained peaceful for the rest of Tiberius' principate.

⁴² *Tiberius the Politician* 132.

Tiberius was accused, especially with respect to the aforementioned areas, of neglecting the provinces by failing to visit them (*Ann.* 1.46). Doubtless he had ample experience under Augustus in all of the arenas of the empire in both military and diplomatic endeavors.⁴³ If he failed to visit the provinces, it may be perhaps explained by his view that Roman imperial *dignitas* demanded no slight to his honor should a rebellion erupt while he was abroad. Tiberius himself explained that he could not personally visit the mutinying troops lest he should appear to grant more importance to one army than another. He added that by sending his sons as delegates he could deal with the situation *maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia* (*Ann.* 1.47).

Thus as Levick points out, those who would criticize Tiberius as imitating ‘Callipides’, a Greek character famous for running very quickly but never going anywhere (Suet. *Tib.* 38), should remember that in comparison to Augustus, Tiberius was acting no differently by not leaving Italy. Tiberius promised to visit the provinces, failing to do so, “but the truth was that Augustus’ last visit to Gaul had been undertaken when he was a year younger than Tiberius was in A.D. 14. After 8 B.C. he too was never to leave Italy again. Tiberius, then, was adopting the same policy that Augustus had pursued for the last twenty-two years of his principate.”⁴⁴

Nevertheless, through his administrators, Tiberius was intent upon consolidating provinces and easing the burdens of his subjects. In the year 15 A.D., at the beginning of his reign, *Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levare in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit* (*Ann.* 1.76). Later in that same year, Poppaeus Sabinus, who had been assigned the province of Moesia under Augustus, took over control of the

⁴³ For Tiberius’ experience, see Orth, *Provinzialpolitik* 13ff.

⁴⁴ *Tiberius the Politician* 127.

new imperial provinces of Achaia and Macedonia (*Ann.* 1.80). This consolidation of these provinces into a unified one governed by an imperial legate would prove financially beneficial, as the administrative costs would be significantly reduced.

Also, Cappodocia and Commagene, key territories on the river Euphrates, were annexed as Roman provinces when the death of their respective kings left their thrones vacant. Although the historians attribute this annexation of Cappadocia to Tiberius' enmity towards Archelaus, the arrangement offered many political and financial advantages as well. The consolidation of this new province was one of the duties which was assigned to Germanicus during his sojourn in the east. The proximity of these kingdoms to the troublesome areas of Armenia and Parthia underscored their importance to Rome.

In the administration of Cappadocia, Tiberius imitated the policies of Augustus by annexing it as an imperial territory. The increased revenue derived from this peaceful annexation was assigned to the military *aerarium*. Moreover, as Magie points out:

so large were the expected returns that the emperor announced that one of the sources of income for this treasury, namely the 1 per cent sales-tax, against which there had been vigorous popular protest, could now be reduced by one-half [*Ann.* 2.42.6]. In Cappadocia itself, moreover, it was found that the taxes which had been paid to the King could likewise be reduced, a measure which contributed greatly to the popularity of Roman rule—the purpose, it is recorded, of the reduction [*Ann.* 2.56.4].⁴⁵

Aside from shrewd management of tax burdens, Tiberius also exhibited generosity when provinces were struck by disaster. We have already mentioned the gratitude of the Asian cities for whom Tiberius provided relief after a devastating earthquake.⁴⁶ According to Suetonius, it was his only act of generosity towards the

⁴⁵ *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* 1.495.

⁴⁶ For the sources regarding this event, see *ibid.* 2.1358 n. 23.

provinces (*Tib.* 48). But as Magie points out, “When, six years afterward, a like disaster befell Cibyra, the emperor requested the Senate to decree a three years’ remission of taxes, and the city, in return for this favour, introduced a new era for reckoning time.”⁴⁷

Luckily for Tiberius, Egypt remained loyal to Rome throughout his reign, perhaps due to the *instituta Augusti* which provided that Egypt not be ruled as other provinces by senatorial legates or proconsuls, but rather by an equestrian prefect who answered to the emperor alone. The fact that Augustus claimed in his *Res Gestae* to have added Egypt to the *imperium populi Romani* means only that he added Egypt to the empire. In reality, Augustus, not the people, controlled the leadership of this province, and Germanicus’ visit to Alexandria provoked the anger of Tiberius precisely because it overstepped the bounds of his *maius imperium*. As Hennig states, “Es bleibt somit nur die Schlussfolgerung übrig, dass Germanicus wissentlich und in voller Absicht das Verbot des Augustus missachtet und seine Kompetenzen überschritten, ebenso wie auch die Feldzüge in Germanien in den Jahren 15 und 16 gegen die von Tiberius erteilten Instruktionen erfolgt waren.”⁴⁸

Although Germanicus had been granted proconsular *imperium* upon the accession of Tiberius in 14 A.D., in order to deal with matters in the east he was further granted some sort of mandate of *maius imperium*. His position has been viewed as similar to that voted to Gaius Caesar in 2 B.C.. But as Romer has shown, the arguments used by scholars to assert that Gaius had permission, or even orders, to go to Egypt are specious. Based on a passage from the later historian Orosius, scholars have concluded that Gaius went to Egypt on his way to Arabia, where he engaged in some minor battles. Romer has

⁴⁷ *Roman Rule* 1.499. For the sources see *ibid.* 2.1358 n. 23.

⁴⁸ “Zur Ägyptenreise des Germanicus,” *Chiron* 2 (1972) 360.

shown that Orosius has misunderstood a passage of Suetonius where Augustus praises Gaius for not going to Egypt to worship Apis on his way to Syria (Aug. 93). He concludes, “Because of Egypt’s peculiar status as a province, Gaius neither assumed office nor appeared there as consul. Had he ever been in Egypt at any time, we would hear of it in connection with Germanicus’ unapproved visit in 19 A.D.”⁴⁹

According to all of the various sources, the sphere of Germanicus’ power was a vague allusion to “provinces across the sea.”⁵⁰ Whether or not that description applied to Egypt seems questionable, as Egypt was technically an imperial domain, ruled by an equestrian prefect.⁵¹ At any rate, even if Germanicus had *imperium* over Egypt, for him to visit the province without the permission of the emperor was a huge public relations mistake. Aside from setting a dangerous precedent whereby other members of the imperial household might test their right to overrule Republican institutions and their re-invention by Augustus, Germanicus also undermined the authority of the equestrian governor.

There has been a great deal of debate in the past century as to whether or not Germanicus’ opening of the graineries to the Alexandrian people was responsible for a sharp rise in grain prices at Rome in the same year.⁵² The matter was considered settled by many when Wilcken proved, among other things, that there were three separate graneries in Alexandria—one for Rome, one for Alexandria, and one under the domain of the Imperial household. Moreover, the ships carrying the grain supply to Rome for that

⁴⁹ “Gaius Caesar’s military diplomacy in the East,” *TAPA* 109 (1979) 207.

⁵⁰ For the various sources, Greek and Roman, see Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus* 33ff.

⁵¹ The arguments for and against Germanicus’ right to be in Egypt are assembled in *ibid.* 36ff.

⁵² The hypothesis that Germanicus caused a food shortage in Rome by his action in Egypt was first proposed by Cichorius, *Römische Studien* 375ff.

year had already sailed when Germanicus visited the Egyptian capital.⁵³ But in a counterargument, Weingartner has shown that if Germanicus opened the Alexandrian graineries, he undermined the authority of Gaius Galerius, “der auf dem Gebiet der alexandrinischen Getreideversorgung ohne Zweifel ein besserer Sachkenner war als Germanicus.”⁵⁴ If he opened the Imperial graineries, he endangered the supply which Tiberius surely intended to be used to relieve a possible grain shortage in Rome, the *caput mundi*.⁵⁵

Germanicus made no secret about his affection for the people of the east, and his adoption of their customs further stirred undesirable affection and attention to his visit.⁵⁶ As we discussed in the second chapter, Germanicus was nervously aware of his inappropriate behavior, and was thus prompted to issue an edict denying divine honors for himself and diverting them to Tiberius and Livia. His public appearances, compounded by the distribution of grain from the imperial graineries without consulting Tiberius or his prefect first, make it easy to understand why Tiberius would complain to the Senate about the behavior of his nephew, who also happened to be proud of his heritage as the grandson of Mark Antony.

With regards to provincial administration, even the harshest critics of Tiberius would have to agree that the provinces benefitted from the emperor’s strictness. Unwilling to provoke insurrection, Tiberius was scrupulous in punishing governors who had overstepped their boundaries.⁵⁷ His famous maxim, *boni pastoris esse tondere*

⁵³ “Zum Germanicus-Papyrus,” *Hermes* 63 (1928) 51ff.

⁵⁴ *Ägyptenreise* 96. Followed by Hennig, “Zur Ägyptenreise.”

⁵⁵ Weingartner, *Ägyptenreise* 97ff.

⁵⁶ For Germanicus’ philhellenic behavior and its consequences, see *ibid.* 99ff.

⁵⁷ Even Brunt, “Charges of provincial maladministration under the early principate,” *Historia* 10 (1961) 189ff., who has his doubts as to the benefits of Tiberius’ policy of prorogation must admit that, “Long tenures may have satiated the avarice of the governors; they also postponed the day of reckoning” (211).

pecus, non deglubere (Suet. Tib. 32; cf. Dio 57.10.5) indicates his awareness that provinces would pay taxes more willingly if they were not overburdened. His motives were hardly altruistic, but they served their purpose of ensuring economic stability without imperial expansion. Tacitus reasons, *ne provinciae novis oneribus turbarentur utque vetera sine avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent, providebat* (Ann. 4.6).

In order to avoid the abuses of the provinces which had occurred in the late Republic, Tiberius notoriously employed the same men for long periods of time in the same position, sometimes without even allowing them to administer their provinces in person.⁵⁸ According to Josephus, Tiberius explained the reason for his policies with a fable. In the fable, a wounded man is being hounded by flies. A passer-by, taking pity on him, moves to swat away these flies. The wounded man responds that the passer-by should not bother the flies, saying, *μειζόνως γὰρ ἂν ἀδικοῖς με, ταύτας ἀπαγαγών. ταῖς μὲν γε ἤδη πληρωθείσαις τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἔπειξις ὄχλον μοι παρασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῇ καὶ ἀνίσχουσιν. αἱ δ' ἀκραιφνεῖ τῷ κατ' αὐτὰς λιμῷ συνελθοῦσαι καὶ τετρυμένον ἤδη παραλαμβάνουσαι κἂν ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῖεν* (AJ 18.173-176). Augustus had already begun to prorogue governors in the latter part of his reign (Dio 53.13.6); Tiberius saw the wisdom in this and followed suit.

Recently sceptics have begun to challenge this view of Tiberius as being concerned for the welfare of the provinces. But even the harshest critics have to confess that whatever his motives, the result ensured the stability needed for the security of the

According to his statistics (Table II, p. 227), more men were condemned of provincial maladministration under Tiberius than under any emperor between Augustus and Trajan.

⁵⁸ The cases can be found in Orth, *Provinzialpolitik* 127ff. Anhang I. On governors being held in Rome see *ibid.* 82ff.

empire as a whole.⁵⁹ Uprisings in Africa, Thrace, and Gaul were the results of problems stemming from the rapid expansion under Augustus. They were efficiently crushed and these provinces became lucrative parts of the empire.⁶⁰ The embarrassment caused by the Frisians in the year 28 had little effect on the settled regions of Roman rule, although according to Tacitus, *Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permetteret* (*Ann.* 4.74). More likely, Tiberius saw little point in recapturing an unprofitable area of the troublesome German territories. If the Frisian name earned honor among the Germans, it did little to inspire other uprisings in Tiberius' reign.

Thus, despite the attribution to Tiberius of innovations in provincial government, in many respects he was continuing the reforms introduced by Augustus, reforms which increased the loyalty of the provinces not only to Rome, but to the emperor.⁶¹ This freedom from external interference from Rome produced a sense of community spirit, a spirit which manifested itself in gratitude towards Augustus and his reforms. Fergus Millar summarizes this phenomenon as follows:

I should like to dwell on this point for a moment. In the event, so I believe, the reign of Augustus turned out to have inaugurated almost three centuries of relatively passive and inert government, in which the central power pursued few policies and was largely content to respond to pressures and demands from below. In this, the revolution of consciousness to which I have referred played a crucial part; that is the consciousness that there was an individual ruler, whose name and image appeared everywhere (or everywhere that words were written or images made) and to whom appeal could be made.⁶²

⁵⁹ Pontius Pilate stands out as less than exemplary; but he is an exception, not the rule, of prorogued governors. Alföldy, "La politique provinciale de Tibère," *Latomus* 24 (1965) 824ff., claims that Tiberius' motives were, "exploiter au maximum les ressources économiques des provinces; y faire obstacle à tout progrès juridique ou social." The latter seems rather counterproductive to a *consilium coercendi imperii*.

⁶⁰ Africa: the end of Tacfarinas is recounted in *Ann.* 4.22ff.; Thrace: Poppaeus Sabinus quashes a native uprising in *Ann.* 4.46; Gaul: Sacrovir and Florus are undone by rivalries in *Ann.* 3.80.

⁶¹ See Ando, *Imperial Ideology* 363ff. on Augustan reform of provincial government.

⁶² "State and Subject" in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* 43.

It is no accident that Tacitus places his apologia for the lack of exciting battles which typically constitute history at the beginning of the second half of the Tiberian hexad (*Ann.* 4.32). The later years of Tiberius' reign were relatively peaceful. The retreat of the emperor to Capri had little effect on the provinces, and the threat of prosecution from the increasingly powerful delators may actually have helped to prevent provincial maladministration. Plutarch includes this concern of Tiberius for the empire among his *exempla* concerning the lack of repose in exile, asserting that, Τιβέριος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Καπρίαῖς ἑπτὰ ἔτη διητήθη μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονικὸν μόριον, ὥσπερ εἰς καρδίαν συνηγμένον, οὐδαμοῦ μετέστη τοσοῦτον χρόνον (*De exil.* 602E). Orth concurs, noting that any marked difference in Tiberius' reign which appears in the historical writers is not supported by the archaeological evidence in the provinces. Whether Tiberius was at Rome or Capri, "Zweifellos änderte sich in der Funktionsfähigkeit eines grossen Teils der Reichsverwaltung mit dem Jahr 26 n. Chr. gar nichts."⁶³

B. Domestic Policy

We have just seen how Tiberius endeavored to continue the reforms of Augustus in the foreign arena. He stabilized the empire and promoted the charismatic pax Augusta, while at the same time downplaying his own role in acquiring that pax through victoria. We should now examine the domestic policies of Tiberius, and how they served to promote prosperity and popularity for the reforms instituted by Augustus, while at the same time transferring Augustus' charisma to the domus Augusta. In administering these

⁶³ *Provinzialpolitik* 122.

policies, Tiberius was careful not to claim charisma for himself, but rather to associate Augustan charisma with the imperial household and the position of princeps.

1. Election procedures

The first area of domestic policy we shall examine is election reform. This may seem unimportant in the grand scheme of things, but as we shall demonstrate, this reform demonstrates the very ideas mentioned above. Max Weber recognized the value of legitimizing charisma through electoral procedures, particularly when the charismatic leader is gone. He deduced, “Since all emotional mass appeals have certain charismatic features, the bureaucratization of the parties and of electioneering may at its very height suddenly be forced into the service of charismatic hero worship.”⁶⁴

Shortly we shall examine the continued use under Tiberius of the centuries created by the Augustan *lex Valeria Cornelia*. These centuries, created in 5 A.D. in honor of the late Gaius and Lucius, increased the charismatic power of the imperial household over the magisterial elections. Tiberius likewise added centuries in honor of Germanicus and Drusus, following the pattern of Augustus and manipulating the appearance of the emperor’s control over the elections. But first let us examine the elections which took place immediately after the death of Augustus and how they relate to Weber’s theory.

Aside from the note on foreign policy which opened this chapter, elsewhere in his account of the senatorial meetings at which the documents handed down by Augustus were read to the Senate, Tacitus has presented Roman historians with one of the greatest puzzles concerning senatorial procedure. It is clear from the fact that Drusus attends the

⁶⁴ *Economy and Society* II.1130.

Senate meeting as *consul designatus*, a technical term used to refer to someone who has been elected but is waiting to take office, that the consular elections for the year 14 A.D. had already taken place and had been validated before the death of Augustus. But Tacitus complicates matters by adding that Tiberius, *candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum; et hortante senatu ut augetet, iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum* (*Ann.* 1.14.4). Practically every word of this sentence has been scrutinized for its precise meaning. Let us begin with the first section of the sentence and the possible meanings of *nominavit*.

In the study of the terminology of Roman elections, Mommsen's landmark *Römisches Staatsrecht* continues to remain the starting point for such a discussion. With regard to a definition for the process designated "*nominatio*", Mommsen's view, summarized nicely by Levick, "was that Augustus possessed as consul 'das Recht der Prüfung der Wahlqualifikation', the right of receiving the *professiones* of candidates to all magistracies, except the tribunate of the plebs and the plebeian aedileship, and so, by implication, of refusing them, in the same way as the consul of 66 B.C. refused to accept Cataline's *professio*, and the consul of 19 that of Egnatius Rufus."⁶⁵ Levick's answer to Mommsen's hypothesis was to deny that *nominatio* or *nominare* had any technical meaning. After an analysis of the various uses of the word in Tacitus and other imperial authors, she concludes that "the emperors did not possess any right known specifically as 'Nominatio.'"⁶⁶

Indeed, there is no general agreement among imperial authors which would enable one to set a definition for any procedure known as *nominatio*. But then what

⁶⁵ Levick, "Imperial control of the elections under the early principate: commendatio, suffragatio, and 'nominatio'," *Historia* 16 (1967) 214, citing Mommsen, *RStr* II³ ii, 917ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 221.

exactly did Tiberius do at that Senate meeting? My own conjecture is that Tiberius read out the list of names of the praetors who had already been elected while Augustus was still alive, but had not been officially announced to the *comitia* for their approval. If the consular elections had already taken place, it seems reasonable to believe that those for the praetorship had also taken place, but had not been finalized. This would then explain the mysterious oath which Tiberius bound himself to that he would not exceed the number of praetors handed down by Augustus.

Some have seen the Senate's maneuver to increase the number of praetors in that year as trying to improve their own position.⁶⁷ That is to say, if more candidates were named as praetor, more *nobiles* would have held high-ranking magistracies. These scholars thus find it inconsistent with Tiberius' usual attitude of trying to increase the Senate's power that the new princeps refused to read the names of more vote-getters from the list of nominees for the praetorship in that year. In other words, say there were sixteen candidates for the praetorship, and Tiberius read the names of the top twelve vote-getters in the Senate. The Senate then urged Tiberius to keep reading names of those who got fewer votes, thus adding to the number of praetors in that year from the list of those who had been candidates for the office, but failed to be elected legally.

But as Tibiletti pointed out, this request was hardly made by the senators to increase their own prestige.⁶⁸ Their entire attitude during these early months of Tiberius' reign was one of testing the waters to see how much Tiberius would assert his own power. Thus the measure was an attempt to grant Tiberius the right to exceed the number handed down by the elections conducted under Augustus by adding his own

⁶⁷ On this point, as well as motives for a similar ploy by Asinius Gallus asking Tiberius to name men to office five years in advance (*Ann.* 2.36), see Levick, "Imperial control" 224.

⁶⁸ *Principe e magistrati repubblicani* 145.

commendations. The praetors named in addition to the twelve original electees whose names had already been read would be exclusively the choice of Tiberius. Tiberius' refusal to do so thus harkens back to his trademark *moderatio*, as well as his wishes to uphold the results of the last elections conducted under Augustus.

This is the view put forth by Astin, and followed by Holladay. Holladay proposes:

If *nominatio* in this passage merely means that Tiberius is reading out the names of the twelve successful candidates after the vote had been taken, there is no reason to doubt that Augustus' *ordinatio* merely consisted of his four *commendati*, possibly together with instructions *sua manu* on how the new election procedure was to work. (This would be to make the change easier for the *populus* to accept—as the legacy of Augustus: so far as the senators were concerned, they would obviously be quite happy at handling the whole election themselves). So there is no need to think that the number of candidates was restricted to the precise number of posts before the vote was taken. The Senate, in asking for an increase, may merely be asking that candidates who came in 13th, 14th, etc. in the poll, should also have their names read out and thus in effect be given posts, thereby increasing the number of the praetorships as Augustus had done in A.D. 11. This request Tiberius refused, as Augustus had normally had only twelve.”⁶⁹

This would also explain the next sentence in Tacitus' narrative, one which has caused many problems for those trying to determine exactly how much *libertas* was actually enjoyed under the principate.⁷⁰ Tacitus follows the sentence above by saying:

Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt: nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus, largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus, libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos.
(Ann. 1.15)

⁶⁹ “The election of magistrates in the early principate,” *Latomus* 37 (1978) 881, drawing on Astin, “Nominare' in accounts of elections in the early principate,” *Latomus* 28 (1969) 863ff.

⁷⁰ On this concept, see especially Wirszubski, *Libertas* 97ff.

If the elections had already taken place but not been approved by the public *comitia*, then Tacitus' statement that the elections were at that point transferred from the campus to the Senate could be seen as valid. By accepting the elections which took place under Augustus as valid without presenting them for the authorization of the public assemblies and considering them solemnized by the reading within the Senate of the names chosen by the *destinatio* centuries from the *lex Valeria Cornelia*, Tiberius removed the right of the people to reject any names of which they did not approve.

The one snag in this interpretation is a case of hysteron-proteron. Why would Tiberius bind himself to commend no more than four candidates if the elections were already over? It seems reasonable to suppose that Tiberius, to conciliate the Senate for refusing to add to the number of praetors for that year, agreed in future elections not to commend more than four candidates, so that the number of positions open in any year which would not be subject to Tiberius' direct control would be eight. The senators would then be compelled to bargain amongst themselves for these eight positions.

Support for this argument comes in the definition of the word *commendatio*, or *commendare*. In Republican political terms, commendation was the more legitimate, perhaps written (as opposed to oral) form of canvassing for one's favorite candidates, also known as *suffragatio*. This does not mean that Tiberius could not privately dissuade people from seeking positions without his approval or, as *princeps senatus*, organize blocs in the Senate which would support his candidates. Tiberius' right to *commendatio* would simply mean that any candidate with this designation would be considered as marked by the emperor's official approval. This approval was not legally binding, but

would face no opposition, and would carry by virtue of the *dignitas* and *auctoritas* of the princeps.⁷¹

A passage from Velleius complicates matters even further. Velleius writes that after Tiberius had seen to the deification of Augustus in the Senate and conducted the funeral of his deceased father according to the instructions left by Augustus:

primum principalium eius operum fuit ordinatio comitiorum quam manu sua scriptam divus Augustus reliquerat. Quo tempore mihi fratrique meo, candidatis Caesaris, proxime a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris destinari praetoribus contigit, consecutis ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius. (2.124.3-4)

To return then to the praetorian elections of that year, I offer the following hypothesis. The elections had been conducted but not solemnized. Twelve praetors had been elected in the *destinatio* centuries of the *lex Valeria Cornelia*.⁷² Four of these, including Velleius and his brother, had the honor of receiving the *commendatio* of Augustus. The wording of Velleius' statement confirms that the emperor had given his commendation at the beginning of the elections, thus Velleius and his brother were named *candidati Caesaris*. They were then destined (*destinari*) by the then ten *destinatio* centuries—five honoring Gaius, five Lucius. Some scholars have even gone so far as to interpret Velleius' statement *proxime a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris destinari* as an ablative of means, conjecturing that he was referring to the centuries themselves which were made up of senators and decurial knights.⁷³ Whatever the case may be, the names had not yet been read before the entire *comitia centuriata*. Augustus died. Tiberius seconded the commendations of Augustus, and these men were considered as elected without question, *extra ordinem*. Tiberius read out the names of the twelve chosen

⁷¹ On the extra-legal basis of *commendatio* until the time of Vespasian, see Mommsen, *RStr* II.2.921ff.

⁷² See below for an explanation of this law.

⁷³ See Woodman's commentary ad loc.

candidates in front of the entire Senate, and not willing to allow that the election conducted under Augustus be tampered with or invalidated in any way, he transferred the authority for the elections to the Senate.

Pani, borrowing a phrase from Grant (*From Imperium to Auctoritas*), recognizes this move by Tiberius to “freeze” the elections in this year as they would have taken place under Augustus had he lived as the transition between the *auctoritas* of Augustus and the *imperium* of later emperors. He posits:

Sicché, mentre una preselezione di Augusto—nel caso vi fosse—, se giustificata con attributi del suo *imperium* e forse anche dalla *tribunicia potestas*, era garantita piuttosto dalla sua *auctoritas* (secondo il modello generico tracciato dallo stesso Augusto in *Res. G.* 34, 21-23), in Tiberio essa dipende senz’altro dall’*imperium* e forse anche dalla *tribunicia potestas* (peraltro, come è noto, anch’essa sempre più affievolentesi e formalizzandosi).⁷⁴

In carrying out the elections of 14, Tiberius relied not on his own *auctoritas* as the added boost to the constitutional powers he already held, but on the *auctoritas* of Augustus.

It is important to recognize that Velleius uses the word *destinare*, which recurs repeatedly in the *Tabula Hebana*, our source for the creation in 5 A.D. through the *lex Valeria Cornelia* of these new centuries of senators and knights from the judicial order as a replacement for the random *centuriae prorogativae* of the old Republic. At this point, it can safely be argued, against the conjecture of Pani and others, that *destinatio* and *designatio* are not interchangeable.⁷⁵ The only evidence attested for this confusion comes from a single inscription, a copy of which was seen by Mommsen, but which unfortunately no longer exists. The inscription, like that concerning the *Ara Numinis Augusti* in Rome discussed in the first chapter, has been accepted by many scholars as fact. Once again I must take issue with Mommsen and his reading of the inscription.

⁷⁴ *Comitia e senato* 71.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 26ff.

According to Mommsen, CIL IX.2342=ILS 944 reads: ...*viacure*.../ ... [*tr. p*]/*l., pr., leg.* / [*imp. C*]/ *Caesaris Augusti / iter. per commendation. / Ti. Caesaris Augusti / ab senatu cos. dest., / patrono.*⁷⁶ The letters in italics Dessau explains (ad loc.) as *reliqua servavit Ant. Augustinus*.

Aside from this tenuous evidence, there is no proof that *destinare* meant anything in the Tiberian era other than an electoral prerogative indicating that a particular candidate was marked for preference by the *destinatio* centuries of the *Tabula Hebana*. A candidate who was *designatus* had officially been elected after all the procedures, even the empty gesture of the public vote, had taken place. A candidate who was *destinatus* had been elected *de facto*, but not *de iure*. The difference may seem academic, but it is important to our understanding of exactly how the centuries set up by Augustus continued to function under Tiberius and what was the nature of the reform which took place in 14.

The exact nature of the *ordinatio* left by Augustus in his own hands may thus refer either to this particular set of elections or to the general procedure of elections to be followed in the future. It matters little as Tiberius, like Augustus, adapted elections to particular situations. What does matter is that in the Senate meetings in which Tiberius first assumed power, he presented his electoral procedure and the alterations to Republican tradition as being the last wishes of Augustus.⁷⁷ Not only the candidates commended by Augustus, but also the procedure of finalizing the elections in the Senate as opposed to the *comitia*, indicate Tiberius' awareness that to survive the next few

⁷⁶ See *RStr* II.2.923 n.1 for his interpretation of the inscription.

⁷⁷ Woodman (on Velleius 2.124.3) seems so convinced as to aver, "Although the changes in the roles of the *comitia* were made after Tiberius had succeeded Augustus, it is not an open question whether Aug. himself had left instructions for the changes (despite Frei-Stolba [*Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*] 145-6 and n. 71)."

months he would need to call upon the charismatic *auctoritas* of his predecessor. This process of transferring the elections from the people to the Senate had already begun under Augustus as early as 5 A.D. when the *lex Valeria Cornelia* created voting centuries made exclusively of senators and knights from the decurial order. Tiberius merely expanded upon it.

Indeed, among the funeral honors voted to the deceased Germanicus which we reviewed in the previous chapter, as well as those for Tiberius' own son Drusus, was the creation of additional voting centuries to be added to those created by the *lex Valeria Cornelia*. The *lex Valeria Aurelia*, as the document laid out by *Tabula Hebana* has come to be known, created five new voting centuries in the name of Germanicus Caesar to be added to the ten already created in 5 A.D. to honor Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Likewise the *Tabula Illicitana* records another five centuries to be added in the name of Drusus Caesar. In honoring his dead sons in the same way Augustus had honored Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius not only followed the precedent for imperial funerary honors, but enhanced Augustus' procedure of allocating control of the elections to the senatorial order.

The method used to determine these centuries, moreover, plays upon the religious significance of using the lot to determine the prerogative centuries under the Republic. As Pani points out, "in esse il caratteristico valore totemico rituale del ruolo della Sors, della Fortuna era ancora presente (*T.H.* 39-45) rinnovato e accresciuto dal nuovo culto imperiale del Genio carismatico dei Cesari defunti."⁷⁸ It seems highly unlikely that Tiberius would have incited the people by granting an honor to the charismatic Germanicus which had no effective power. That he called upon the precedent of Gaius

⁷⁸ *Comitia e senato* 95.

and Lucius indicates his desire to amass as much charismatic *auctoritas* as possible for the devaluation of the voting power of the popular *comitia*.

Some have argued that the creation of these centuries described in the *Tabula Hebana* was an empty gesture. Syme further suggested that the centuries fell into disuse immediately after their creation in 5 A.D., but this claim has been proven incorrect by Clarke, who has shown that the wording of the *Tabula Hebana* refutes their abolition between 5 A.D. and 19.⁷⁹ Brunt claims that after the riots during the elections of 7 A.D., Augustus realized that the addition of new centuries to the *comitia* could not salvage the body.⁸⁰ In his view, Tacitus' statement regarding the transfer of elections to the Senate shows clearly that any group which would include non-senators of senatorial rank and knights could not be reconciled with Tacitus' account of the reform. Rather the centuries continued to exist, but in name only.

In an exposition of the events of the year 14 which otherwise seems sound, Holladay has also argued that the passage in Tacitus proves that the new centuries created by Augustus only nominally existed under Tiberius. The *destinatio* centuries thus became, like the *comitia* of the lower orders, merely a rubber stamp on the arrangement of names which would already have been worked out by the Senate.⁸¹ But the explanation given above, that the *destinatio* centuries were still used to finalize the list of candidates which was then read before the Senate shows that the addition of the new centuries under Tiberius was not an empty gesture. The argument *ex silentio* that because Tacitus did not mention these centuries they were not important does not seem valid.

⁷⁹ Syme, *Tacitus* 2.756ff., and Clarke, "The *destinatio* centuries in A.D. 14," *Historia* 13 (1964) 383-4.

⁸⁰ "Thus the Lex Valeria Cornelia was not a measure of lasting importance," "The lex Valeria Cornelia," *JRS* 51 (1961) 71.

⁸¹ "The first official list is the one which emerges from the election in the Senate and is presented by the consul to the *destinatio* body and the Campus," "The election of magistrates" 891.

Tacitus was not writing a treatise on Roman electoral procedure, but was interested in showing the tendentious relationship between Tiberius, the Senate, and the people. In my opinion, Tacitus did not mention these new centuries because they were merely an enhancement of a law which had already been passed under Augustus and because Tacitus considered it an unimportant detail in the greater scheme of things.

Staveley takes this one step further. He argues, as did Jones before him, and Pani later, that Tacitus did not mention these centuries because they gradually fell out of use during the course of Tiberius' reign. They must have been in existence at least until 24, the year after Drusus' death, when five new centuries were created on the model of those in honor of Gaius, Lucius, and Germanicus. Staveley reconciles Tacitus' remark that the elections were first transferred to the Senate under Tiberius with the continued existence of these centuries by arguing that during the reign of Tiberius, the *equites* played an increasingly smaller role in the process of *destinatio*, until finally their influence disappeared completely. He claims in response to arguments that the centuries ceased to function effectively in 14, "A more attractive view is that the *equites* progressively came to recognize their own role in the new election process as an anachronism and an irrelevance and so began voluntarily to absent themselves from the select assembly in ever-increasing numbers."⁸²

⁸² *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* 220. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* 27-50, had argued that Augustus was deliberately trying to infuse knights into the Senate, and that the success of this process caused the shortage of knights in these centuries. I find this rather specious considering there is no evidence in the consular *fasti* to support his arguments. Pani, *Comitia e senato* 101ff., embellishes Staveley's argument, claiming that the knights, not being candidates themselves for consul or praetor, ceased to care about the elections.

With regards to the consulship, Tacitus expresses even greater *aporia* concerning the details of elections under Tiberius. For the consular elections of the year 15 A.D., the first to be held entirely under Tiberius, Tacitus writes:

De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim; adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo, subtractis candidatorum nominibus, originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellegeretur. aliquando, ea quoque significatione subtracta, candidatos hortatus ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. Plerumque eos tantum apud se professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium (Ann. 1.81).

Two very important points can be made about Tacitus' account. First, Tacitus was basing his view not only upon senatorial documents such as the *acta senatus* and the consular *fasti*, but also on the speeches of Tiberius himself. Secondly, Tiberius would commend candidates using different methods. For any other senator, it would have been his political prerogative to proclaim his support for a candidate either through a declared *commendatio* or *suffragatio*, or to lend his support in a lesser manner. Augustus had practiced this sort of Republican canvassing. But to the Senate descending into subserviency under the reign of Tiberius, the lack of a clear cut designation was seen by Tacitus as *dissimulatio* through the *imago libertatis*.

Levick offers the following interpretation of Tacitus' biased account:

Augustus certainly intervened in the consular elections, and so did Tiberius and his favorite Sejanus, and there is no evidence for any later change in the methods they used: they remained a matter of *auctoritas*....Tiberius retained all the rights of a Republican politician, acknowledging the overriding nature of his *auctoritas* only in his oblique and muffled use of it.⁸³

⁸³ "Imperial control" 227.

Thus Tiberius, like Augustus, used indirect methods to appoint the men he wished to be consuls, but there was no legal procedure which gave Tiberius the right to do so. Like Augustus, he relied upon his *auctoritas*. This *auctoritas* of the princeps was finally set down in legal terms in the *lex Imperio Vespasiani* (CIL 6.930=31207, p. 3777).⁸⁴ That Vespasian, the first emperor outside the Julio-Claudian line, had no legal precedent to draw upon bears witness to the *commendatio* of members of the *domus Augusta* by virtue of their *auctoritas*.

This *auctoritas* can also be seen, as can the exhibition of free competition for public office even under a monarchy, when a replacement was being sought for the deceased praetor Vipstanus Gallus (*Ann.* 2.51). Germanicus and Drusus supported Haterius Agrippa, a *propinquus* of Germanicus. Others (*plerique*) asserted that the *lex Papia Poppaea* should be used in favor of the candidate having the most children. Tacitus states that, *Laetabatur Tiberius, cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptaret*. This would seem to verify that Tiberius encouraged competition of qualified candidates in elections.

As for the later years of Tiberius, the only evidence we have concerning the electoral procedures, particularly after the downfall of Sejanus, comes from Dio. It is difficult, however, to determine whether Dio's sweeping generalizations apply to the entire reign, or merely to the time after Tiberius left Rome for Capri. In the year 32 A.D., Dio records that the consuls were Domitius, who held office by virtue of his marriage to Agrippina the younger, and οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥς που τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἔδοξε. Dio goes on to make a

⁸⁴ The text with commentary is reprinted in Crawford, *Roman Statutes* 1.549ff. See also Brunt, "Lex de imperio Vespasiani," *JRS* 67 (1977) 95ff.

general statement about Tiberian suffect consuls, claiming, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ μακρότερον, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ βραχύτερον ἂν ἥρειτο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι καὶ θάσσον τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀπήλλασσε, τοῖς ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ἄρχειν ἐδίδου (58.20.1ff.). Dio goes on to record that Tiberius, having appointed (*apodeixas*) a consul for an entire year would replace him before his term was up, sometimes reversing the order which he had apparently prearranged for suffect consulship.

Dio continues that regarding the consulship, especially in its suffect form, καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦτα διὰ πάσης ὥς εἰπεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἐγίνετο (58.20.3).

This passage poses some major problems for those trying to discover what Dio's sources told him regarding the consulship under Tiberius. First of all, does the expression "*diapāsēs hegemonias*" refer to his entire reign, or merely the time after the fall of Sejanus, i.e., the years 32-37 A.D.? Secondly, how should we interpret the parenthetical, "*hōs eipein*"?

The answers may lie in Dio's exposition of Tiberian procedure for other elected offices. Following his account of Tiberian consulships, Dio goes on to state,

τῶν δὲ δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς αἰτούντων ἐξελέγετο ὅσους ἤθελε, καὶ σφας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέπεμπε, τοὺς μὲν συνιστὰς αὐτῷ, οἵπερ ὑπὸ πάντων ἡρούντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς δικαιώμασι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῷ τε κλήρῳ ποιούμενος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἕς τε τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ προσήκοντες ἐκατέρω, τῆς ἀρχαίας ὁσίας ἔνεκα, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, ὥστε ἐν εἰκόνι δοκεῖν γίνεσθαι, ἐσιόντες ἀπεδείκνυντο. (58.20.3-4)

Thus, according to Dio, magistracies outside the consulship, including the praetorship as well as lower offices, were determined by a rather complicated process played out

through *mores* rather than *leges*. The picture painted by Dio seems consistent with the conjecture made above regarding the elections for the praetorship of 14. The princeps made his official recommendations through his Republican right as a senator to promise his *commendatio*. The Senate accepted these recommendations unanimously, and as for the remaining positions, they filled them either by canvassing among themselves, or by drawing lots. Either way, once the list was drawn up by the Senate, it was taken before the popular assemblies as a matter of ritual procedure, but not in any democratic sense.

Frei-Stolba believes, rightly so, that this passage from Dio, “In ganzen betrifft diese Schilderung die Zeit der Abwesenheit des Tiberius von Rom.”⁸⁵ Likewise, Augustus, being unable in his later years to attend the Senate and canvass in person for his candidates, made his wishes known through similar means. Dio tells us that after problems with the elections of 7 A.D., Augustus took it upon himself to personally “appoint” (*apodeixe*) all the candidates for that year, and τοῦτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα γράμματά τινα ἐκτιθεὶς συνίστη τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅσους ἐσπούδαζε (55.34.3).

Thus Augustus commended candidates in writing. Dio’s usage of *sunistē* is repeated in his account of Tiberian procedure for offices in his later years.

Just as Tacitus does, Dio as well neglects mentioning the *destinatio* centuries, and it is entirely possible that after the fall of Sejanus, the use of these centuries failed to be taken into account. It is also possible that Dio, telescoping the elections of an entire reign, saw no reason to single out the use of *destinatio* centuries from the other methods used by the Senate to narrow down the candidates to be presented to the popular assemblies. I believe that Pani is right in asserting that from the testimony of Dio and

⁸⁵ *Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen* 150.

Suetonius three secure conclusions can be reached: “1) fino almeno al 24 d.C. funziona l’assemblea senatorio-equestre; l’assemblea popolare vota ancora; 2) nel corso dello stesso regno di Tiberio l’assemblea destinatrice senatorio-equestre cessa di funzionare ed è sostituita nelle sue funzioni dal senato; 3) nel corso del regno di Tiberio l’assemblea popolare perde il diritto e la funzione del voto.”⁸⁶

The presentation of candidates to the popular assembly, however, as Dio points out, remained only a matter of procedure. The popular assemblies held no power to refuse any of the candidates on the list. Thus the real power of the elections did lie in the Senate, as Tacitus indicates. The enervation and apathy of the popular assemblies is displayed when Caligula, in an attempt at currying popular favor and undermining the Senate, transferred the elections back to the assemblies of the people. Suetonius reports, *Temptavit et comitiorum more revocato suffragia populo reddere* (Calig. 16.3). Dio tells us that this move merely removed the power of elections from the Senate, as the people failed to exercise their rights. Caligula was compelled to restore the elections, καὶ τοῦτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου καθίστατο... (59.20.5). As Dio tells us, elections, although increasingly under the control of the emperor, as exhibited in the *lex Imperio Vespasiani* and Pliny’s *Panegyricus*, continue in his day to follow the same basic procedure which Augustus had left to Tiberius.

Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that Tiberius scrupulously preserved the Republican methods used by Augustus to commend candidates for various offices. Moreover, even if the *destinatio* centuries were merely a nominal body (although there is no evidence that they failed to be used to aid the Senate in elections), by adding to them,

⁸⁶ *Comitia e senato* 100-101.

Tiberius was preserving the charismatic electoral institution created by Augustus. And whether or not it was the plan of Augustus to transfer the elections from the *comitia* to the Senate is besides the point. What is significant is that Tiberius claimed that he was following the orders of Augustus, and that his practices and policies regarding the selection of magistrates throughout his reign convinced his contemporaries that he was indeed carrying on the policies of Augustus.

Perhaps this can best be reflected in the assessment of P.A. Brunt on the *lex Valeria Cornelia*. Although he argues, contrary to the thesis posited above, that the *destinatio* centuries created by this law ceased to function as early as 8 A.D., he does state regarding Tiberius' continuance of Augustan practices:

But it is unlikely that Tiberius would have ventured on interventions, however discreet, in consular elections if he had not been able to call on the precept and example of Augustus, on which he was ever disposed to lean. It might even be suggested that Tiberius carried deference for constitutional forms farther than his predecessor and that Augustus might have more plainly intimated his wishes.⁸⁷

Tiberius continued to influence the elections indirectly, partly by virtue of his own Republican sensibilities, but more importantly, because he wished to utilize the charismatic *destinatio* centuries which assured that the election of magistrates was seen as divinely sanctioned by deceased members of the *domus Augusta*.

2. Socio-Economic policies

The source of some of the strongest criticism against Tiberius was his personality, his lack of *comitas*. It diverged strongly from the charisma of Augustus and Germanicus, and perhaps was responsible, among other things, for Tiberius' exploitation of the charisma of Augustus to sustain his rule. No greater opportunity was offered for displaying one's charisma to the people than at the games. The emperor's attitude

⁸⁷ "The *lex Valeria Cornelia*" 78.

towards the plebs at public shows could make or break public opinion. Augustus knew this all too well, and fortunately for him, he actually enjoyed going to the games (Suet.

Aug. 45). Tiberius' opinion of the games was an entirely different matter.

Tacitus records that in 15 A.D.:

Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod in vulgus formidulosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant: alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. Non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quodque dictum est. (Ann. 1.76)

Thus Tiberius had two reasons for disliking the games (beyond his own personal taste).

First of all, they offered an opportunity for his less-than-charismatic son Drusus to exhibit his cruel nature. Secondly, they gave occasion for comparison to Augustus in which Tiberius came off rather unfavorably.

Moreover, Tiberius had every reason for disliking the theater, as it was a common source of political protest and extremely dangerous in a time when the settlement left by Augustus was still in its infancy.⁸⁸ The riots which form the subject of the next paragraph in Tacitus prove Tiberius' circumspection was well-founded. Soldiers had been killed. Public order was threatened. The Senate proposed that the immunity from flogging offered to *histriones* be revoked. Haterius Agrippa as *tribunus plebei* interposed his veto, which was countered by arguments from the troublesome Asinius Gallus, *silente Tiberio*. Finally, Tacitus reveals, *Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunis verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius* (Ann. 1.77).

⁸⁸ On the circus and theatre as venues for the display of discontent, see Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* 18ff.

If Tiberius refrained from giving games and attending shows, he seems also to have discouraged those outside the imperial family from doing so. Suetonius claims, *neque spectacula omnino edidit; et iis, quae ab aliquo ederentur, rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposceretur* (Tib. 47).⁸⁹ Of course, as “bread and circuses” were the way to win the heart of the urban plebs, Tiberius’ aversion to games won him no popularity. But Tiberius could not suppress games altogether, as Veyne points out:

The Emperor also possessed the exclusive right to provide Rome with extraordinary games and *munera*, while the ordinary games and *munera* continued to be provided by magistrates. Logically, the Emperor should have reserved for himself a complete monopoly where shows were concerned, but the Republican institutions remained in being and the ruler had to compromise with them.⁹⁰

In 27 A.D., with Drusus and Germanicus dead and the prospects of Germanicus’ sons looking increasingly problematic, Tacitus reports a disaster at Fidenae, a few miles from Rome. A certain freedman, Atilius, had decided to give games, to which the people eagerly flocked, *avidī talium, imperitante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habiti* (Ann. 4.63). Two observations should be made. First, a freedman was giving these games, not a member of the imperial household or a senator. This seems to point significantly to the awareness of the nobility that games were the realm of the *domus Augusta*, and should Tiberius choose not to give games, they should not provoke him by doing so themselves. Secondly, Tiberius did not give games, with the result that the people crowded into a dangerous ramshackle amphitheatre. From this we may conclude that Tiberius was careful to avoid providing a venue for public demonstration, while also limiting the

⁸⁹ Dio (57.11.5) reports in his general survey of Tiberius as *civilis* that Tiberius attended the games, but never seemed to show any enthusiasm for them. Dio also posits that Tiberius attended to show honor to the one giving the games and to ensure public order, but also to seem (*dokein*) to be sharing in the holiday. He apparently failed to convince.

⁹⁰ *Bread and Circuses* 388.

opportunities of the *nobiles* to infringe on the charismatic *domus Augusta*. At the same time, recalling the way his stepson/brother Gaius Caesar had presented himself at the games, prompting his premature election to the consulate, Tiberius was not eager to allow the already arrogant sons of Agrippina an opportunity for a public disturbance.

So much for circuses, but what about bread? Tiberius may have been guilty of a dearth of public works, but he still remained attentive to the basic needs of the *plebs Romana*. In times of famine he subsidized the grain dole, providing more grain for Rome than Augustus had, but taking less credit. According to Tacitus, shortly after the death of Germanicus, *Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe, statuit frumento pretium quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modios* (*Ann.* 2.87). The people offered him the title *pater patriae*, which he declined. In 32 A.D., the plebs threatened to riot due to the excessive price of corn. They made their exhibition in the theater, no less. Tiberius upbraided the magistrates for failing to control the people. According to Tacitus, *addiditque quibus ex provinciis et quanto maiorem quam Augustus rei frumentariae copiam advectaret* (*Ann.* 6.13). His rebuke won him no affection, and this rare self-imposed comparison of himself to Augustus may perhaps best be explained by his exasperation. As Levick puts it, “justifiably he resented being accused of negligence.”⁹¹ Tiberius knew that he was becoming increasingly unpopular, and he seems here to be trying to defend his uncharismatic image against the claims that he was an absentee emperor.

When fires broke out, he aided the *populus*. After a fire destroyed a large area of the *mons Caelius* in the year 27 A.D., the same year as the disaster at Fidenae, *Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti* (*Ann.* 4.64). His generosity was

⁹¹ *Tiberius the Politician* 121.

lauded by both the Senate and the people, *quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia iuverat*. A proposal was made in the Senate to rename the hill the *mons Augustus* (not the *mons Claudius*), since Tiberius' portrait was found among the remains untouched by the fire.⁹² Tiberius, for whatever reasons, expressed concern for the welfare, if not the affection of the plebs. He could never outdo the munificence of Augustus, but he had to maintain public order.

He completed and rebuilt aqueducts, dedicating the waterways in his name and that of Augustus. A series of *cippi* recently studied by Geza Alföldy indicates that Tiberius, even late into his reign, continued to inscribe the name of Augustus along with his own on public works. Alföldy concludes:

Non si cade in errore se si suppone che questi cippi terminali appartenessero all'ultimo anno del governo di Tiberio, e precisamente al periodo tra il 26 giugno del 36 e il 16 marzo del 37. Questa è infatti la data di un gruppo di cippi terminali fatti erigere da Tiberio lungo l'Aqua Iulia, l'Aqua Virgo e lungo un altro acquedotto: o l'Anio Vetus, o l'Aqua Marcia o l'Aqua Alsietina. Da questi documenti emerge il fatto che i condotti idrici di Roma realizzati (o rinnovati) da Augusto vennero forniti, sotto Tiberio, nel quadro di un provvedimento unitario, di cippi terminali....Anche queste iscrizioni trasmettevano un messaggio ideologico: esse volevano esprimere il fatto che Tiberio, il rinnovatore dell'Aqua Augusta e in generale degli acquedotti augustei, si considerava il continuatore dell'opera del suo predecessore.⁹³

Finally, mention should be made of *congiaria* and donatives, the donations made by the emperor on special occasions. Suetonius claims, *Militi post duplicata ex Augusti testamento legata nihil umquam largitus est* (Tib. 48), with the exception of rewarding the Syrian legions for not displaying the portrait of Sejanus among their standards. The doubling of the amount promised by Augustus in his will secured the legitimacy of

⁹² Suetonius (Tib. 48) claims the name change was Tiberius' idea.

⁹³ Studi sull'epigrafia 64.

Augustus family to rule over the empire, an empire increasingly dependent on the good will of its armies.

As to accusation that Tiberius was less than generous, this is not exactly true, as Tiberius did make *congiaria* in the names of the princes. Just as Augustus had made a donation to the plebs upon the introduction to public life of his adoptive sons Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius did the same for Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus. Tiberius also gave out money to the plebs in honor of the triumph of Germanicus. These were his only *congiaria*, and notably, none were in his own name.⁹⁴ Moreover, according to the calculations of Duncan-Jones, Tiberius spent more in terms of *per capita* cost per reign-year on these *congiaria* than had Augustus.⁹⁵

With regards to the legacy allotted to the plebs after the death of Augustus, Tiberius was reportedly so slow in paying it that a *scurra* who rebuked him was put to death with the quip, *ut nuntiaret Augusto nondum reddi legata quae plebei reliquisset* (Suet. *Tib.* 57). If Tiberius was slow in paying the legacy to the plebs, it was presumably because the munificence of Augustus had left him short of liquid funds. Augustus himself had allowed a year for the payment of these legacies, perhaps being all too aware that the cash was not on hand.⁹⁶

It should also be noted that Tiberius left almost exactly the same bequest upon his own death as Augustus had done. Duncan-Jones notes, “Tiberius’ public legacies seem to have been a virtual duplicate of those of Augustus, except that the civilian total was 45

⁹⁴ For a list of the *congiaria* under Augustus and Tiberius, see van Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire* 142ff.

⁹⁵ *Money and government in the Roman Empire* 249, table A.1. Augustus averaged 37s., Tiberius 45s. Augustus made 5 distributions, Tiberius 4.

⁹⁶ Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* 122. See also Duncan-Jones, *Money and government* 11ff.

million, and the praetorians received HS500 per head.”⁹⁷ Augustus had left a total of HS43.5 million to the *populus* and HS1,000 to each of the praetorians. It seems rather ironic that the emperor accused by history of neglecting the plebs and fostering the praetorian guard was to leave more to the former and less to the latter than his predecessor. But as Yavetz points out, Tiberius was never celebrated for his beneficia, not because he failed to provide for his people, but rather, “It was in the *quomodo* and not in the *quod* that Tiberius failed towards all classes in the state.”⁹⁸

If Tiberius differed from Augustus in his desire to win popularity with the plebs, he nevertheless preserved Augustan laws designed to reform the vices corrupting Roman society. Aside from ensuring public order through maintaining basic needs, Tiberius also tried to stem immorality. Typical of Tiberius’ concern with avoiding disruption and corruption were the restrictions placed upon Judaism and the worship of Isis in the year 19 A.D.⁹⁹ The sources are unclear as to the origins of such action. Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.85) and Suetonius (*Tib.* 36), being typical Roman aristocrats, find nothing unusual in the persecution of a foreign sect and fail to mention the reasons why Tiberius acted against the Jews and Isis worshippers when typically the policy under Augustus had been one of limited tolerance. On the other side of the spectrum, the Jewish historian Josephus (*AJ* 18.65-84) attributes the expulsion of the Jews to retribution against the crimes of a few. He explains that a Roman noblewoman had been hoodwinked by some Jews into making a donation to the temple which was then appropriated for other purposes. Likewise, the followers of Isis tricked a Roman noblewoman into ritual prostitution for private

⁹⁷ *Money and government* 18, Table 1.2 n. 6.

⁹⁸ *Plebs and Princeps* 106.

⁹⁹ On the penalties imposed on the Jews and those to whom they applied, see Merrill, “The expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Tiberius,” *CP* 14 (1919) 365ff.

purposes. But the followers of Isis were merely punished by the destruction of their temple. The Jews, on the other hand, were driven out of Rome, and those of the freedman class were conscripted into military service, from which they had been exempted by Augustus, in the harsh climate of Sicily.

Smallwood has pointed out that previous restrictions on foreign cults had occurred under Augustus, “But a gratuitous attack on the Jews by the very authorities who had guaranteed their religious liberty seems highly improbable, and the *senatus consultum* by which Tacitus says the conscription and expulsion orders were issued implies investigation and due deliberation, not an arbitrary and spiteful attack.”¹⁰⁰ She goes on to argue that the charge against the Jews was not so much that they had corrupted a woman, but that they had corrupted a Roman noblewoman. The proselytizing which was tolerated among the ghettos of Trastevere had begun to spread to the upper classes. It was this threat which prompted Tiberius, who, as we saw in the second chapter of this study, diligently propagated the imperial cult and Augustan values, to take action against the Jews. As Smallwood concludes:

The measures taken against the Jews in Rome in 19 were merely police measures aimed at curtailing the local nuisance of excessive proselytizing; and the measures taken against them later by Claudius were of the same type, aimed at the removal of threats to public order. Neither action was incompatible with the overall Roman policy towards the Jews and their religion laid down by Julius Caesar and Augustus.¹⁰¹

An issue of public order may also have been at stake. We have already seen the agitation of the plebs in the years 18-19 A.D. at the death of Germanicus, famine, fire,

¹⁰⁰ *The Jews under Roman Rule* 203. She dispels the notion found in the Jewish writers Josephus and Philo that Sejanus was responsible for the persecution of the Jews.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 210.

etc. Williams believes that the action against the Jews was part of a larger effort by Tiberius to control public order. She posits:

That hyper-sensitivity to unrest may well have been an important factor in Tiberius' clampdown on the turbulence-prone Jews is strengthened by another consideration—viz. that punishment of the Jews in A.D. 19 was not an isolated act of repression. It is worth recalling that our three main sources couple the measures against the Jews with the suppression of Isis worship at Rome. The coupling is significant—the simultaneous expulsion or disbanding of potentially seditious groups is a sure indicator of political insecurity.¹⁰²

Even if the Jews and worshippers of Isis were in themselves harmless, at a time of political instability any threat to the fabric of society, whether political or moral, had to be suppressed by the princeps.

The corruption of a Roman noblewoman through ritual prostitution by the worshippers of Isis was symptomatic of an increasing problem in Roman society, one which threatened the moral order Augustus had tried so hard to establish.¹⁰³ Tacitus records, *Eodem anno* [19 A.D.] *gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita cautumque, ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset* (*Ann.* 2.85). The decrees were prompted by a case involving a certain Vistilia, born from a family of praetorian rank, who had registered herself as a prostitute before the aediles to avoid prosecution under the Augustan adultery laws. Probably in connection with this particular *senatus consultum*, Suetonius mentions the fact that Tiberius punished with exile women who were avoiding the laws in the way Vistilia had, as well as young men and women of the upper classes who were performing on stage and in the arena (*Tib.* 35).

¹⁰² “The expulsion of the Jews from Rome in A. D. 19,” *Latomus* 48 (1989) 783.

¹⁰³ On the importance of the moral program to Augustus' new world order, see especially Galinsky, “Augustus' legislation on morals and marriage,” *Philologus* 125 (1981) 126ff.

A bronze tablet discovered at Larinum in 1978 has revealed a *senatus consultum* from this same year, 19 A.D. The decree restricted the performance on stage by equestrian and senatorial Romans. Under Augustus in the year 22 B.C., a ban was placed on performance by senators, their children, and their grandchildren, as well as members of the equestrian order and those entitled to seats in the first fourteen rows of the theatre. This policy seems to have been poorly enforced, allowing members of the equestrian class to act as gladiators in the year 11 A.D. at games witnessed by Augustus himself.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, a decree from that same year closed the loopholes for freeborn Romans under the age of 20 for females, 25 for males. Tiberius, as we have noted, no lover of the games and a staunch opponent of Roman nobles publicly disgracing themselves, was surely in favor of this attempt to reinforce the lapsed policies and restore order to the theater as well as dignity to the senatorial classes.

As Levick points out, this *senatus consultum* was part of a series of movements intended to reform the lapsed morals of the senatorial class. In taking action against corruption in the senatorial class through legislation against adultery and performance on stage, Tiberius was continuing the work already done by Augustus “to strengthen the existing social structure and keep its strata distinct.”¹⁰⁵ Augustus had considered it important to the new order under the principate to preserve the sanctity of the Roman family, and “Tiberius, who may have felt more strongly about the conduct of the upper classes than Augustus did, continued with measures that emphasized the distinctions and privileges of rank.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ For background, see Levick, “The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum,” *JRS* 73 (1983) 97ff. Levick makes the connection between the passages in Suetonius and Tacitus 110ff. See below.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 114.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 115.

Nevertheless, Tiberius was unwilling to foster dissent unnecessarily, as can be seen when the delators attempted to revive the penalties for the sumptuary laws which had long since lapsed into abeyance. The Senate referred the problem to the emperor, who responded that the matter is one for the aediles, and that, *mihi autem neque honestum silere neque proloqui expeditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut consulis partis sustineo. Maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur; et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur* (Ann. 3.53). Unable to bring himself to allow luxury to become a charge for frivolous prosecution, Tiberius instead called for a return to the old-fashioned values which Augustus had been so careful to extol. He lamented Italy's dependence on foreign goods, another Augustan theme, and that, *Tot a maioribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus tulit, illae oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum fecere* (Ann. 3.54).

In 20 A.D., Tacitus records, *Relatum dein de moderanda Papia Poppaea* (Ann. 3.25). This law, enacted in 9 A.D., was intended to increase the penalties for bachelorhood and childlessness. The fact that the two consuls who lent their names to the law were unmarried speaks for itself (Dio 56.10). Tacitus records this motion and then launches into a digression on the origin of law, leaving off with the ominous statement, *Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur. Acrora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur* (Ann. 3.28). Tacitus finds fault with Tiberius because he did not revoke the law, but rather assigned a committee of five ex-consuls, five ex-praetors and ten other senators to define the law more clearly.

The *lex Papia Poppaea* also forced Tiberius into another embarrassing situation. Under the encouragement of Augustus to fulfill his duty to Rome, the nobleman M. Hortalus had married and raised a family (Suet. *Tib.* 47). Augustus had granted him a million sesterces to revive the famous house of Hortensius the orator. Now, in the year 16 A.D., Hortalus had run through the money and came to the Senate hoping to appeal for more from Tiberius. In Tacitus' vivid description, *igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem, modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc modum coepit (Ann. 2.37)*. Hortalus claims that he only begot children at the behest of Augustus (*non sponte sustulit sed quia princeps monebat...iussus ab imperatore uxorem duxi*), and refers to his sons as *divi Augusti alumnos*.

His appeal to Tiberius' reverence for Augustus failed, as Tiberius was rather disgusted with the way Hortalus had hit below the belt, so to speak. He rebuked Hortalus, *Dedit tibi, Hortale, divus Augustus pecuniam, sed non compellatus nec ea lege ut semper daretur (Ann. 2.38)*. Tiberius, nevertheless, caved in to the Senate, perhaps as much to save the dignity of Augustus as his own. He granted each son 200,000 sesterces. His gesture was in vain, as Tacitus reports, *domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delabaretur*.

Hortalus was not the only recipient of reluctant Tiberian generosity among the senatorial class. An anecdote from Seneca's *De beneficiis* (2.6.2), advising Nero, the great-grandson of Augustus, on how to give and how not to give, holds up Tiberius to reproach. According to Seneca, a praetorian named Marius Nepos came to the emperor asking for debt relief. Tiberius asked for a list of his creditors. *Cum edita essent, scripsit*

Nepoti iussisse se pecuniam solvi adiecta contumeliosa admonitione. Seneca reasons that by rebuking Nepos, Tiberius was not providing him with a true *beneficium*.

Nevertheless, other senators were encouraged by Nepos' success and turned to the emperor for financial support, receiving the same resentful aid. Although they were granted the money, Seneca asserts the manner in which Tiberius gave it, *non est illud liberalitas, censura est* (2.8.2).

Tiberius has often been accused of such egregious parsimony that many hold his "hoarding" of imperial coin responsible for the financial crisis which took place in the year 33 A.D. Tenney Frank, the primary advocate of this theory, asserts, "while Augustus increased the coinage for circulation very strikingly from 30 to 10 B.C., he in his last twenty years and Tiberius during his nineteen years of power before 33 coined relatively little and spent very frugally; so that, while gold and silver went abroad increasingly to pay for imports, the per capita circulation inside Italy was steadily decreasing for forty years."¹⁰⁷ While it may be true that Tiberius had significantly less revenue than Augustus, especially in the early part of his reign as a result of the triumph over rich and fertile Egypt, it remains to be seen whether Tiberius failed to spend what was necessary to ensure the continued prosperity of the Roman empire.¹⁰⁸

First of all, the amount left by Augustus in the treasury upon his death remains a topic of debate. Rodewald, who took it upon himself to debunk the long held explanation of Frank that Tiberian frugality was excessive and thus responsible for the financial crisis of 33, begins his study with an analysis of the funds which were in the treasury upon the death of Augustus and those which were left by Tiberius to Caligula. Demonstrating that

¹⁰⁷ "The financial crisis of 33 A. D.," *AJP* 56 (1935) 337. See also Duncan-Jones, *Money and government* 23ff., who, albeit with some reservations, follows many of Frank's assertions.

¹⁰⁸ For the acquisitions of Augustus in his early years, see Duncan-Jones, *Money and government* 6 n. 30.

Suetonius lists only the amount in the *fiscus* upon Augustus' death as 1 million sesterces, omitting that in the *aerarium*, while the same source cites 2.7 million as the total amount left by Tiberius to Caligula, he concludes, "It might turn out that Tiberius added very little to what he had taken over. It might emerge that whereas Augustus had acquired a reputation for munificence because he had so much to spend, Tiberius acquired a reputation for stinginess because he had so much less, and was acutely conscious of having so much less."¹⁰⁹

Rodewald further argues that the mines confiscated in *maiestas* trials, "are surely, then, of greater political and moral than economic significance."¹¹⁰ That is to say, the economy throughout the reign of Tiberius was relatively static in its expenditures, income, and circulation of old and new coinage. So what caused the crisis of 33 A.D.? Rodewald, rightly in my opinion, asserts that it was nothing more than the events triggered by the delators overzealously prosecuting violations of a long-neglected law enacted by Julius Caesar. The delators were presumably spurred on by the recent successes of those prosecuting other laws excessively such as the *lex Pappia Poppaea* and *maiestas*. When the measure initially proposed by Tiberius to solve the problem failed to increase land investment, the price of land collapsed. The blame lies solely on the events of this year and the atmosphere of uncertainty surrounding the future in the wake of the fall of Sejanus.

At any rate, Tiberius released 100 million sesterces from the *fiscus* for interest-free loans with a three-year grace period, to allow for the purchase of land within Italy. This, along with his aid to those who lost their homes in the fire on the *Mons Caelius*, are

¹⁰⁹ *Money in the Age of Tiberius* 11.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 15.

the only measures of generosity which Suetonius attributes to him. But as Rodewald points out, Tiberius had sound financial reasons for not spending more. After years of imperial expansion, which, as we observed above, was halted by Tiberius according to the *consilium* supposedly left by Augustus, the Roman economy needed a period of slowed growth. Although it is important not to apply modern economic principles to ancient practices, it nevertheless becomes apparent, as Rodewald states, that:

For generations the consequences had been concealed, or rather postponed, by Rome's use of the accumulated wealth of the Mediterranean world, wealth created by Greeks and Phoenicians and their pupils, wealth which successive generations of Romans could plunder. Tiberius, it could be said, was the first man to have to try to make the system work in a 'normal' manner. That was the economic counterpart to his grievous political heritage.¹¹¹

Tiberius' ability to regulate the economy, more or less, without imperial expansion demonstrates his willingness to risk personal unpopularity for the sake of stability. As Duncan-Jones points out, "The amounts Augustus bequeathed were small by comparison with what he had spent. Any serious departure from this pattern of openhandedness by later Emperors ran the risk of unpopularity. Tiberius was almost the only ruler to put that to the test."¹¹² By providing for the interests of the Roman state while foregoing any attempts at winning popularity, Tiberius, whether intentionally or not, promoted the charisma of the principate without having charisma himself. He provided *beneficia* without acquiring a reputation for *liberalitas*.¹¹³ In doing so, he enhanced the charismatic image of Augustus while stabilizing, or "routinizing" in Weberian terms, the resultant system, socially, politically, and economically.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 71.

¹¹² *Money and government* 4.

¹¹³ On the relationship between *liberalitas* and charisma in Weberian terms, see Kloft, *Liberalitas principis* 181.

Chapter 5

Tiberian *raison d'état*

As we have seen throughout this study, protecting the image of Augustus was extremely important to his successor. We observed in the previous chapter how Tiberius protected Augustan policies, taking care to stabilize the reforms which Augustus had instituted. Likewise, Tiberius deferred attempts to increase his own popularity in this process, preferring to attribute the positive aspects of his own reign to the *pax Augusta* established by his predecessor. In the course of this same process, the routinization of Augustan charisma, Tiberius was also confronted with challenges to his authority. Thus we should now examine the problems faced by Tiberius in protecting the image of Augustus as he tried to preserve the plan of hereditary succession bequeathed to him by his predecessor.

A. *Maiestas*

No greater evil cast its shadow over the reign of Tiberius than that condensed into one particular, if hard to define, word—*maiestas*. The law of *maiestas r. p. minuta* was nothing new to Roman jurisprudence prior to the reign of Tiberius.¹ It had a rather healthy development under the Republic in its applications to control excessive behavior by lesser or greater magistrates and insults against their persons. Yet, as Bauman has shown, the concept of *maiestas* is a complicated one, involving its relationship to the word *maior*. That is, *maiestas* can only exist in a comparative relationship. Under the Republic, *maiestas* represented any action which diminished the prestige of the Roman people, particularly by undermining Rome's status as *caput mundi*.

¹ For the history of *maiestas* as a criminal charge see in general Bauman, *Crimen maiestatis*, as well as Robinson, *The Criminal Law of Ancient Rome* 74ff.

Under the principate, the question arises as to who or what is the *maior* in the treatment of *maiestas* for criminal purposes. That is, does *maiestas* refer to the *res publicae*, the *populus Romanus*, the *princeps*—or all of the above? Here we cannot attempt to tackle in detail the difficulties of *maiestas* legislation (or lack thereof), but rather, we must examine how the understanding of the concept known as *maiestas* stood when Augustus died, and why Tiberius receives the blame for instituting one of the greatest evils of the Roman Empire.

Let us begin first by stating that Tiberius, a stickler for procedure, did not exercise extra-judicial arbitrariness over the concepts which were amassed under the heading of *maiestas*. Unlike later emperors who claimed to abolish *crimen maiestatis*, only to find new and exciting ways to punish the same crime at their own whim, Tiberius should be viewed as a victim of his own indecision and *moderatio*. As Bauman points out with regards to the legal treatment of *crimen maiestatis* under the early Empire, “The last word belongs to Tiberius. Seen against this background of duplicity and deceit, his *exercendas leges esse* stands out, whatever its other implications, as a most explicit renunciation of arbitrary power and a most memorable affirmation of the rule of law.”²

If Tiberius felt compelled to obey the laws of Augustus, we must ask ourselves what were the Augustan laws which bound him. More importantly, how did Augustus himself behave in situations where the *leges exercendas esse*?

Tacitus begins his account of domestic affairs under the new regime of Tiberius by claiming:

Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant, si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem

² *Impietas in principem* 227.

populi Romani minuisset; facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque inlustris procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore an iudicia maiestatis redderentur, exercendas esse leges respondit. Hunc quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum. (Ann. 1.72.3-4)

Thus Tacitus blames Augustus for first applying the *lex maiestatis* to words rather than deeds. This passage seems rather condemnatory of both the first and second *principes*, but to what extent it is true remains to be seen. Upon closer examination, the testimony of Tacitus breaks down, and the lines between *princeps* and *res publica* become blurred.

For the prosecution of *maiestas* cases under Augustus, the evidence is practically non-existent. This does not mean, however, that *maiestas* did not exist under Augustus as a substantial *crimen*. As we have already stated above, the charge existed under the Republic. And yet Tiberius is given credit by Tacitus as the one who first applied the *maiestas* law judicially *en masse*. Tacitus, regarded as more reliable than the vague Suetonius and the distanced, fragmentary, and sometimes incomprehensible Dio, has branded Tiberius as the source of this evil which the historian witnessed in its *floruit* under Domitian. Yet as Rutledge, among others, has noted, “The dearth of known delatores for most of Augustus’ reign is to be attributed in part to a lack of any historical source relating details about criminal trials under him; had we a Tacitean account of Augustus’ reign, no doubt the situation would be very different.”³

We must proceed with caution then in our comparison of the treatment of *maiestas* under Augustus and Tiberius. Our evidence for Augustus is sketchy and our evidence for Tiberius was assembled by one of the greatest orators in Roman history, a man well-trained in the art of persuasion whatever the nature of the evidence. Our goal

³ *Imperial Inquisitions* 89-90.

here is not to exonerate Tiberius of the charge of unleashing *maiestas* on the Roman empire, but rather to see to what extent Tiberius was following not only Augustan precedent, but his own Republican tendencies. Moreover, we shall revisit some of the religious issues discussed in the first chapter, as they inevitably became an issue for prosecution following the deification of Augustus.

Let us begin then, with definitions of exactly what constitutes *maiestas*. Or more precisely, let us examine the charges which came to be assembled under the generic heading of *maiestas*. The first issue to address in trying to assess the nature of such charges is that brought up by Tacitus regarding *facta* and *dicta*. We must ask what was the basis for treating libellous statements as a punishable crime. How did the *lex Cornelia de iniuriis* concerning slanderous statements made against *viros feminasque inlustres* come to be applied to the understanding of *maiestas* as it stood under the Republic—namely, diminution of the power of the Roman people?

The answer to this question is a torturous one, which fortunately has been worked out by Bauman in his study of the *Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate*. It was under Augustus that the Sullan and Caesarian *maiestas* laws governing the disobedience by a commander or magistrate of his orders and the libel laws preventing slander of Roman magistrates came to be conflated under the heading of *maiestas principis*. Although technically, Roman law never explicitly stated such a principle, the identification of the princeps with the Republic which appears in the praises of Ovid and other Augustan poets blurs the lines between the various laws encompassing *maiestas* and libel to such an extent that anything which threatens the princeps and his

position as the foremost man of state, most notably as the *pater patriae*, threatens the state itself.

Bauman places this movement as early as days of the triumvirate, when Octavian received tribunician sacrosanctity, and most notably in 32 B.C., when *tota Italia* swore an oath to serve Octavian and the *res Romana* against the evil forces stirring in the east. But the turning point occurred in 2 B.C., when Augustus received the title *pater patriae*. This title has long been a subject of study in its connection to the Roman ideas of the *paterfamilias* and the patron-client system.⁴ Thus for Augustus to become *pater* over the entire Roman empire entitled him to the same protection afforded the *maiestas* of that empire. He was its representative, spokesman, and lord. Bauman recognizes this connection as giving Augustus and more importantly, his household, a privileged position in the Roman empire, against which any action could be considered as treasonous. As such, what we would typically consider under the heading *lèse majesté* came to be tried under the heading of *perduellio*, or treason. Hence Tacitus scoffs at charges subsumed under *maiestas* that seemed to him trivial, such as slanderous verses, the praise of Brutus and Cassius in a historical work, the consultation of astrologers, etc. as being miscarriages of what was originally intended under the laws of *maiestas*.

The *maiestas* laws as they existed when Augustus died are impossibly clouded by our lack of a solid source for early imperial legislation. The existence of a *lex Julia de maiestate* indicates that a law encompassing *maiestas* was enacted either by Julius Caesar or Augustus, or through an even more confounded explanation, that Augustus revised a *lex Julia* written by Caesar and the changed legislation kept its former name.

⁴ See especially Alföldi's *Der Vater des Vaterlandes*.

Chilton confidently believes that the laws applied under Tiberius in the cases referred to as *maiestas* stem from an Augustan reform, asserting, “It is true that apart from say consideration of *perduellio* no fewer than four laws *de maiestate* (to be discussed more fully later) were passed in the seventy years before the reign of Augustus. But it is clear for all practical purposes these laws were comprehended and superseded by the *lex Julia* of Augustus.”⁵ As Chilton would have it, the charge of *perduellio*, a word which never occurs in Tiberian writers, was subsumed under this law and is what is referred to as *maiestas*. Chilton also believes that the penalty prescribed by the *lex Julia* under Augustus was *interdictio aquae et ignis*. Nevertheless, in extreme cases the princeps and the Senate could override the punishment prescribed by law through clemency or severity.

I would agree with Chilton, that the law which Tiberius uses in his dealings concerning *maiestas* is the policy contained in the *lex Julia*. But as Bauman has pointed out, significant alterations were made to the applications of this law in the later years of Augustus. What constituted *maiestas* was probably never clearly defined by Augustus, and only his security as princeps prevented the misapplication of the law. Tiberius, lacking the *auctoritas* of Augustus was backed into the corner repeatedly over the issue, and thus he is held responsible for the spread of this evil.

Pliny remarks in his *Panegyricus* of Trajan, contrasting Trajan’s deification of Nerva with the deification of the first emperor, *Dicavit caelo Tiberius Augustum, sed ut maiestatis crimen induceret* (11.1). Despite Pliny’s cynicism, the passage points to a key conflict in Tiberian Rome. Tiberius was the first emperor to honor the image of his predecessor with excessive devotion. He was also the first emperor faced with protecting

⁵ “The Roman law of treason under the early Principate,” *JRS* 45 (1955) 73ff.

an image which was not his own. Indeed, the systematic deification of Augustus was a first, as was his treatment as a deity. We have already shown in our examination of the imperial cult under Tiberius that Julius Caesar was allowed to fade from memory once he no longer proved useful. Bauman points out that even in the early years of Augustus' reign, "...Divus Julius was not subsumed under the *lex maiestatis*. He may have been subsumed later on, by Nero, but that does not affect any of the cases under Tiberius."⁶ This leads us then to ask, what constituted *maiestas minuta* against Augustus, and how did it come to apply to the members of the *domus Augusta*.

Perhaps it would be best to follow the account of Tacitus, who despite his bias is our best source for the reign of Tiberius, drawing upon other sources as necessary. Thus, we should proceed on a case by case basis, examining the trials which appear to be relevant in determining whether or not Tiberius followed Augustan precedent in his judicial decisions, and more importantly, when he seems to be doing so with a clear intention of using the precedent of Augustus to add force to his own position.

If we intend to use Tacitus, we must begin with the caveat which Walker has so explicitly demonstrated in her work on the *Annals*—namely that there is a large gap between fact and impression in the work of Tacitus.⁷ He is obliged by his ethics as a historian and a noble Roman to report the truth, but at the same time, he is a literary historian. That is, in reporting the facts, Tacitus can often be seen straying from his profession of writing *sine ira et studio*. As Walker states, "He has undoubtedly used all the facts which he could find to support his view of these events, and though he has felt

⁶ *Impietas in principem* 72 n. 9.

⁷ *The Annals of Tacitus* 82ff.

bound to mention facts which do not support that view he has thrown them into complete insignificance.”⁸

In order to address the issue of *maiestas* under Tiberius, particularly in comparison to its conception under Augustus, it seems more advantageous to deal with cases not necessarily chronologically, but by dividing them into categories which fall under different rubrics which come under the generic heading of *maiestas*. These would be libel (both written and oral), abuse of statues of Divus Augustus or Tiberius, adultery by prominent members of the imperial family, consultation of astrologers, and the most serious cases of *maiestas* which are clearly *perduellio* or high treason. The divisions will not always be clear, and in many cases, *maiestas* is added as a charge to another charge in order to guarantee its being heard before the emperor and the Senate. The scholarly opinion on these procedures is far from unanimous, and we will try to avoid entering into tangential or superfluous issues, concentrating on the manner in which Tiberian *maiestas* trials reflect the importance of Augustus to the Tiberian regime by projecting and protecting the image of the first princeps.

Suetonius says of Augustus that *Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis: ne acta senatus publicarentur...* (Aug. 36). It was clear that the hostilities expressed in the Senate were becoming dangerous. But suppressing public transactions is one thing. It could perhaps be justified under *raison d'état*. It remains to be seen what actions Augustus took to protect his *maiestas* in the private sphere, and how these precedents affected cases of *maiestas* under Tiberius. We have already mentioned the statement made by Tacitus above that it was Augustus who first introduced the application of the *lex Cornelia de famosis libellis* under the heading of *maiestas*. The two cases that we

⁸ Ibid. 84.

know of under Augustus both occur late in his reign, and are perhaps indicative of a movement by Augustus to suppress free speech.

The first case against an individual, which is not mentioned by Tacitus but comes from a contemporary source, is the case of Titus Labienus.⁹ Seneca, in the preface (6-8) to his tenth book of the *Controversiae*, writes of Labienus:

Libertas tanta ut libertatis nomen excederet, et quia passim ordines hominesque laniabat Rabienus vocaretur. Animus inter vitia ingens et ad similitudinem ingeni sui violentus et qui Pompeianos spiritus nondum in tanta pace posuisset. In hoc primum excogitata est nova poena ; effectum est enim per inimicos ut omnes eius libri comburerentur : res nova et invisitata supplicium de studiis sumi.

Seneca then goes on to wish the same fate upon Labienus' accuser (about which more below), and to recount the final fate of Labienus (whom he elsewhere (*Cont.* 4. Pref. 2) styles as *homo mentis quam linguae amarioris*). Not wishing to outlive his work, Labienus shuts himself up in his familial tomb and buries himself alive, *ne ignis qui nomini suo subiectus erat corpori negaretur* (*Contr.* 10. Pref. 7). Although no explicit charge is mentioned by Seneca, the previous statements regarding the *libertas* of Labienus are compounded by the anecdote Seneca relates that Labienus considered parts of his history too outspoken to be read until after his death. Moreover, Labienus apparently provoked Maecenas by insulting his beloved freedman Bathyllus.

So Labienus' works were ordered to be burned. And Labienus himself committed suicide fearing that his body would not be allowed proper burial. What was his crime?

Dieter Hennig is convinced that Labienus was the first person to be tried under Augustus'

⁹ The case of Cornelius Gallus remains problematic. However, Daly, "The Gallus Affair and Augustus' *lex Iulia maiestatis*: a study in historical chronology and causality," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 1.289ff., has recently argued that if Gallus were tried under a law of *maiestas*, it would have been the *lex Cornelia*, not the *lex Iulia*. At any rate, the case against Gallus was tried in the earlier years of the reign of Augustus (c. 27 B.C.) and reflects more the climate of that era than the later years we are discussing.

new organization of the *lex Iulia de maiestate* to include *iniuriae* punishable under the *lex Cornelia de famosis libellis*.¹⁰ He asserts, “Alle diese Tatsachen lassen es als gesichert erscheinen, dass der Prozess gegen T. Labienus unter Zugrundelegung der *lex Iulia maiestatis* vor dem Senatsgericht geführt wurde bzw. Zumindest eine Verurteilung durch den Senat erfolgte.”¹¹ The implication that because Labienus’ works were burned there had to have been a *senatus consultum* against them seems fair enough, but the silence of Tacitus leads us to question whether or not Labienus was tried for *maiestas* as a result of his writings. Seneca never mentions such a charge, and I am inclined to trust the evidence of a contemporary and the word of a consular historian over scholarly conjecture.

Even if Labienus was not tried for *maiestas*, the fact remains that the state ordered the burning of his books. Cassius Severus, the enemy of Labienus mentioned above upon whom Seneca wished the same fate as Labienus, was, according to Tacitus, the victim of the first case of *maiestas* prosecuted for libellous writing or speech. It seems likely that the cases were connected, and whatever hostility the two men may have had towards each other, they both seem equally hostile towards the new order. In fact, they may have been part of a larger movement in the later years of Augustus to stir up popular discontent in years when fires, famine, and foreign disasters were plaguing the *pax Romana*.

Hennig sees the cases as connected to a movement in 12 A.D. mentioned by Dio.¹² Others, including Bauman have posited an earlier date of c. 6-8 A.D.¹³ It matters little for our purposes in what year the trials took place. What is important to this study is

¹⁰ “T. Labienus und der erste Majestätsprozess *de famosis libellis*,” *Chiron* 3 (1973) 245-254.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 253.

¹² *Ibid.* 254, also 246 and n. 6.

¹³ *Crimen maiestatis* 263.

to examine the nature of the charges brought against Severus and the penalties applied.

The explanation of Bauman teases out the legal snags encountered by Augustus as follows:

Furthermore, it was convenient not to remedy the position by creating a *crimen iniuriarum*, for the existing state of the law gave Augustus a convenient pretext for accomplishing, in an unobtrusive way, something which he was in any event determined to bring about—the punishment of attacks on him as *maiestas*. In order to bring criminal defamation under a *iudicium publicum*, a twofold procedure was followed. The category of verbal injury in the *lex Cornelia de iniuriis* was extended to *qui alterius nomine ediderit* by *senatusconsultum*, which gave the desired enlargement of the substantive law. But this left *iniuria*, even as extended, without a *quaestio perpetua* before which transgressors could be prosecuted. As it had been decided not to create a *quaestio de iniuriis*, jurisdiction had to be conferred on one of the existing *quaestiones*. The *quaestio maiestatis* was chosen for this purpose. The *senatusconsultum* therefore went on to provide that anyone composing or publishing defamatory matter was to be punished ‘ex lege maiestatis’, possibly in the form: ‘ut si quis librum...ad infamiam alicuius pertinentem scripserit...etiamsi alterius nomine ediderit vel sine nomine, ea poena teneatur, qua tenentur qui homines ad seditionem convocasse iudicati sunt.’ Although worded in the general form *ad infamiam alicuius*, in practice the rule could easily be confined to attacks on the princeps and his family.¹⁴

Therefore, in the later years of the reign of Augustus, the seeds were sown for prosecution of libel against the emperor and his family as *maiestas*.

The punishment for Labienus, if he was convicted of libel, although probably not *maiestas*, was self-inflicted, in a very dramatic fashion no less. Cassius Severus, on the other hand, was ultimately relegated to Crete for his abuse of Augustus.¹⁵ Whatever the chronology of events, Cassius Severus was also subjected to the burning of his works by a *senatus consultum* (Suet. *Cal.* 16.1). Severus, not having learned his lesson, continued his attacks against foremost members of the Senate, and his penalty was increased by the Senate under Tiberius. It is interesting to note that Tacitus fails to record that the

¹⁴ Ibid. 263.

¹⁵ See ibid. 265 for the possible dates of this trial. See also idem, *Impietas in Principem* 28ff.

relegation of Severus took place originally under Augustus (*Ann.* 4.21). Once again, we find that the absence of a history of the reign of Augustus convicts Tiberius as the innovator of oppression, a reputation perhaps more rightly deserved by his predecessor.

Before moving on to the reign of Tiberius, one more name should be mentioned in the context of *maiestas* and censorship. We discussed in the second chapter of this study the effect of exile on Ovid's poetry and its shift from the timidly defiant to the problematically panegyric. We passed over discussion of the reason for Ovid's exile, which must be addressed here, for lack of a better explanation, as a case of imperial censorship. Ovid himself says that the reason for his exile was *carmen et error* (*Tristia* 4.10.89-90). The *carmen* is commonly thought to be the scandalous *Ars amatoria*, but this was published years before 8 A.D., the year of Ovid's exile. The general consensus then, is that Ovid's exile was connected to the adulterous behavior of the younger Julia (about which more below). But there can be no proof of this hypothesis. The fact that Ovid views the *carmen* as a reason, if not necessarily the reason, for his exile indicates that the last years of Augustus were characterized by an increasing control over the content and tone of literature.

Williams connects the case of Ovid with those of Labienus and Cassius Severus as part of a general movement in the years 6-12 A.D.¹⁶ I have no doubt that this is correct. Whatever freedom of speech Augustus had hesitated to censure previously had now been curbed by the *senatus consulta* authorizing the destruction of the works of Labienus and Severus. Ovid's works, while not burned by a *senatus consultum*, were,

¹⁶ *Change and Decline* 55ff. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem* 30ff., suggests a link between the case of Cassius Severus and that of Ovid.

like their author, exiled from Rome. According to the *Tristia*, the erotic works of Ovid were banned from public libraries.¹⁷

Like the banishment of his works, Ovid's exile was not authorized by the Senate, as he himself tells us. In *Tristia* 2.131-138, Ovid laments to Augustus,

*nec mea decreto damnasti facta senatus,
nec mea selecto iudice iussa fuga est.
Tristibus invectus verbis—ita principe dignum—
ultus es offensas, ut decet, ipse tuas.
Adde quod edictum, quamvis immite minaxque,
attamen in poenae nomine lene fuit;
quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo,
privaque fortunae sunt ibi verba meae.*

Thus, Ovid was banished by the command of Augustus, not by a *senatus consultum*. This relegation was never rescinded by Tiberius, despite the entreaties made by the exile from Pontus and his friends in Rome.

Tiberius, having reluctantly accepted power, also accepted these dangerous legal precedents from the last years of the reign of Augustus. Suetonius, after extolling Augustus' clemency regarding insults to himself, records a letter written to Tiberius by Augustus during the latter's reign. Augustus writes, *Aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquem esse, qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit* (Aug. 51). One would like to know when this was written, and how Augustus meant the phrase *ne quis nobis male facere possit* to be interpreted. Or more importantly, how these words affected the future emperor, who knew that his reign depended upon the charisma of his adoptive father. Let us turn then to the first *maiestas* trials under Tiberius which seem to involve charges of written materials which could be considered treasonous.

¹⁷ *Tristia* 3.1.59-82; 3.14.5-18. This point is made by Williams, *Change and Decline* 81.

The first case under Tiberius involving slanderous material as a treasonable offense (we shall deal with verbal slander separately, although the distinction is not always clear in the sources), did not occur until the end of the year 24 A.D., and is probably connected with the withdrawal of Tiberius from government following the death of his sons, and the subsequent rise of Sejanus.¹⁸ Tacitus tells us, shortly before his account of the trial of Cremutius Cordus and his digression on writing history, *C. Cominium equitem Romanum, probrosi in se carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratris, qui senator erat, concessit. Quo magis mirum habebatur gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle* (*Ann.* 4.31). In this instance, however, there is no clear indication that the *iniuriae* were prosecuted as *maiestas*, nor is there any mention of the proposed punishment which Tiberius relieved.

The most notorious case of *maiestas* concerning written material is that of Cremutius Cordus. A martyr, if you will, for Tacitean history, Cordus becomes the symbol of defiance against an autocratic regime. According to Suetonius, one of the first acts of the newly installed and still democratic emperor Caligula was that, *Titi Labieni, Cordi Cremuti, Cassi Severi scripta senatus consultis abolita requiri et esse in manibus lectitarique permisit, quando maxime sua interesset ut facta quaeque posteris tradantur* (*Cal.* 16). Quintilian states, however, that even if the writings of Cordus had been allowed to see the light of day again, after being carefully protected by Cordus' daughter Marcia (see Seneca *Consolatio ad Marciam* 22.4ff.), they were, nevertheless, published in an expurgated form. He writes, *habet amatores nec immerito Cremuti libertas*,

¹⁸ We shall ignore the story given by Dio (57.22.5-23.3) of Aelius Saturninus who supposedly was thrown from the Tarpeian rock for reciting insulting verses about Tiberius. See Bauman, *Impietas* 114.

quamquam circumcisis quae dixisse ei nocuerat. Sed elatum abunde spiritum et audaces sententias deprehendas etiam in his quae manet (Inst. Orat. 10.1.104).

If the writings of Cordus retained their bite even after they had been censored for dangerous material, one must wonder whether his history was really as innocuous as it is made out to be by Tacitus. Tacitus tells us that Cordus was tried for praising Brutus and Cassius, and in the speech which he writes for Cordus (probably completely fictional), Cordus compares his praise of the parricides to Livy's characterization as a Pompeianus by Augustus.¹⁹ But these were entirely different matters. Under the *lex Pedia* which proclaimed the killers of Caesar as traitors, the praise of Brutus and Cassius could be seen as treasonous, depending upon its extent and context.

But what is more important to the case, I believe, is the statement made by Dio that Cordus, τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς καθήψατο, τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τόν Αὔγουστον εἶπε μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπερεσέμνυνε (57.24.3-4). The most obvious conclusion from this statement is that Cordus was tried because he had slighted Augustus and Julius Caesar. But the first clause is equally important. The original definition of *maiestas* was of course that of *maiestas minuta populi Romani*. Under the *lex Cornelia*, no doubt, the Senate came to be included under that definition. If Cordus had derided the people and the Senate, these charges could just as easily have brought about his downfall as the enmity of Sejanus which had supposedly inspired the case.

Dio tells us that Augustus himself had heard or read the histories of Cordus and approved of them. Was Tiberius, then, countermanding the will of Augustus in this case?

¹⁹ See Martin and Woodman's commentary ad loc. for the consensus of the speech as a product of Tacitean rhetoric.

Several factors must be taken into account. First, was the history brought as an accusation by the minions of Sejanus the same history which Augustus had heard and of which he had shown approval? The speech of Tacitus mentions only Augustus' reaction to the support shown by Cordus for the conspirators, not to passages related to his own actions as sole ruler. Suetonius relates that at one point Augustus was so afraid of the senators and their hostility towards him that, *Cordus Cremutius scribit ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu* (Aug. 35). One might wonder how Augustus reacted to this passage if he had heard it. Perhaps he had not.

Bauman posits, rightly in my opinion, that Cordus had not yet reached the reign of Augustus when he read his history to the first princeps. Against the explanation that Augustan censorship laws were not yet in place when Cordus read his work to Augustus, Bauman offers, "Another possibility—it derives some support from Tacitus' omission of the Augustan perusal from Cordus' speech—it is that the work indicted in A.D. 25 was not the one seen by Augustus, being a second edition produced at some time between A.D. 22 and the date of the trial and mounting a much stronger attack on the Principate: this might help to explain Tiberius' hostile reaction."²⁰ Bauman also points out that things had changed significantly since Augustus' death, and more importantly, since the beginning of Tiberius' reign.

In 25 A.D., there was no clear successor to the throne. The children of Agrippina and Germanicus, particularly Nero and Drusus, had been commended to the Senate, but had not really been marked with the same signs of imperial favor as their predecessors, the *principes iuventutis*. Tiberius recognized that the system put in place by Augustus could only stand with Augustus' charisma to support it. And yet, the popularity of

²⁰ *Impietas* 103.

Agrippina and her children was too dangerous, threatening to result in the Hellenistic monarchy of which Augustus accused Marc Antony, the grandfather of Germanicus. Cordus' history, if it did indeed attack Augustus and the principate as an institution, could surely be seen as treasonous if portrayed in the right manner.

Nevertheless, the charges against Cordus are never explicitly stated, as the historian killed himself preceding his trial. The defense speech which we find in Tacitus may or may not be authentic, but if so, it either appeared as a manifesto from the grave or was delivered at a pretrial hearing. Whether Cordus would have been acquitted or not is impossible to say, but there is no reason to believe that the charge of *maiestas* in written form would not have been separated from whatever other charges may have been brought and probably dropped. The burning of Cordus' histories is parallel to the action taken by Augustus towards the end of his reign against inflammatory writings by Labienus and Cassius Severus.

The only other significant case which involved *maiestas* violated by treasonous writing is that of Aemilius Scaurus, a former adherent of Sejanus, in 34 A.D.²¹ The prosecution of Scaurus is overshadowed by mention of his tragedy the *Atreus*. Tacitus, in his typical manner of persuasion, asserts that Macro, *detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae, additis versibus, qui in Tiberium flecterentur* (*Ann.* 6.30). Dio tells us that Scaurus was summoned because of the tragedy the *Atreus*, in which the overtones of increasing tyranny in the later years of Tiberius, especially after the downfall of Sejanus, were too easily read. Tiberius, having been told of the nature of the writings was said to have quipped, “καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν Αἴαντ’ αὐτὸν ποιήσω” (58.24.4). In

²¹ See Bauman, *Impietas* 126ff. for this case as a manifestation of the phenomenon of *renuntiatio amicitiae* as condemnation.

truth, however, as Tacitus concedes, the charges admitted for trial were adultery with Livilla and *magorum sacra*. Dio also has to confess that the charges which were actually brought against Scaurus involved adultery with Livilla, although he neglects to mention the charge of practicing magic. Scaurus anticipated condemnation by suicide, thus leaving us, once again, in the dark as to the outcome of any possible trial for treasonable writing. At any rate, the *Atreus* did not cause Scaurus to be indicted for *maiestas*, nor is there any proof that it was burned after his death. Seneca (*Cont.* 10 Pref.3) mentions only seven speeches as being destroyed by the decree of the Senate and says nothing of the *Atreus*.

Brief mention should also be made of Sextius Paconianus. Paconianus had been tried in 32 A.D. for plotting with Sejanus against Caligula (*Ann.* 6.3). Apparently in prison he used his spare time not to beg forgiveness or work on his defense, but to write scandalous verses about Tiberius. Tacitus states, *Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est* (*Ann.* 6.39). No mention is made of a trial, nor of this murder as having been ordered by Tiberius. In all likelihood, Tiberius was unaware of an action taken by Macro, who seems to have filled the power vacuum left by the fall of Sejanus with an equally, if not more, autocratic regime. Whatever the case may be, the fact remains that Paconianus was not in jail for the verses which he had written, but for a legitimate case of conspiracy.

One more aspect of treasonable writing proscribed as *maiestas* and subject to censorship should be mentioned before we move on to the more problematic and prolific cases of oral *maiestas*. As Bauman points out, "The case of Fulcinus Trio in 35 has a

bearing on the question of the *lex maiestatis* and testamentary freedom of speech.”²²

Under Augustus, a motion had been made to censor wills which had contained incendiary statements about the princeps. Augustus had vetoed the motion, permitting complete and comprehensive freedom of speech in the making out of one’s will.²³

Trio had committed suicide before his trial and his will was to be read, but it was known to contain attacks on Tiberius. Tiberius insisted that the will be recited just as, we shall see, he also insisted on repetition of verbal attacks made on him orally. Tacitus tells us that in his will Trio, *multa et atrocia in Macronem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris composuit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem et continuo abscessu velut exilium obiectando* (*Ann.* 6.38). Trio’s heirs tried to suppress the reading of this will, but Tiberius insisted its contents be disclosed, *patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum Seiani dius nescius mox quoquo modo dicta vulgari malebat veritatisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri*. Whatever, Tacitus may think of Tiberius’ reasons for having the will read, the fact remains that he adhered to Augustus’ policy of allowing free speech in wills.²⁴

We have separated the cases of written libel from those of spoken *iniuria* for several reasons, not the least of which is that while written materials can be considered as evidence, treasonous speech relies upon the testimony of witnesses. Moreover, there are different rubrics of treasonous speech which must be examined separately. First would be libellous statements against Livia, Tiberius, and Divus Augustus. Second are

²² *Impietas* 128ff.

²³ Suet. *Aug.* 56.1.

²⁴ Pace Bauman, *Impietas* 129, who asserts, “The only feasible explanation is that Tiberius was foreshadowing the policy soon to be instituted by Caligula, of setting aside defamatory wills by posthumous declarations of *intestabilis esse*. Tiberius did not actually have Trio’s will set aside, but he made its reading a warning against abuse of the privilege sanctioned by Augustus.”

statements against other members of the *domus Augusta*. In the very beginning of Tiberius' reign, as we mentioned above, he was asked whether the laws of *maiestas* ought to be applied and he responded in the affirmative. This opened the doors for the delators to append treasonable speech to other charges. Despite what Tacitus would have us believe, the overwhelming majority of cases of *maiestas* charges for treasonable speech were either dropped or were never brought to trial through the anticipation of such proceedings by suicide.

The test case for the delators regarding statements made in a non-literary form concerning Augustus and Tiberius which could be considered treasonous occurred in the first year of Tiberius' reign. Perhaps eager to cash in on the insecurity of Tiberius' accession, and also to pull into focus the position of the newly deified Augustus, the delators hit upon the reforms made by Augustus as a means of profit and promotion. As Bauman points out:

The two tentative ventures of Augustus, the one into *asebeia/impietas* on an extra-legal basis and the other into defamation under the aegis of the *lex maiestatis*, raised a dichotomy that was to plague the *crimen maiestatis* for the rest of its history. Difficulties began being encountered almost immediately after the accession of Tiberius, and they were engendered above all by the *asebeia/impietas* formulations of 2 B.C. The dividing-line between *laesae religiones* and *violata maiestas*, between injuries to the gods and injuries to the emperor, was an unstable one.²⁵

While treasonable writing could be condemned as inflammatory pamphleteering and had been quashed in the later years of Augustus, how did this new precedent apply to treasonable speech between friends?

In 15 A.D., two Roman knights, Faianius and Rubrius, were indicted for *maiestas*—Faianius for admitting a deformed mime to the *cultores Augusti* in his

²⁵ *Impietas* 13.

household, Rubrius for perjury of an oath taken by the *numen* of Augustus. The charges were dismissed in both cases, with Tiberius writing to the Senate, *non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur* (Ann. 1.73). In a further effort to test the boundaries of the laws of *maiestas*, charges were brought against Granius Marcellus, praetor of Bithynia, by his own quaestor Crispinus Caepio and the notorious (at least according to Tacitus) delator Romanus Hispo. Among the charges laid against Marcellus was the allegation that he had made *sinistros de Tiberio sermones*, and as Tacitus adds, *id crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator objectaretque reo. Nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur* (Ann. 1.74). According to Tacitus, Tiberius was so enraged by these statements that he proclaimed the case should be judged openly and under oath, and that he himself would cast his vote openly. That vote was for acquittal on the charge of defamation, and the other charges of provincial misconduct were remanded to the *reciperatores* in charge of such investigations.

Clearly Tiberius' outburst was prompted less by the slanderous statements being made against him, although these surely inflamed matters, but rather the fact that having dismissed similar charges regarding slights on Augustus, he should have to deal with *maiestas* charges for non-capital matters again so soon. Tacitus has painted a rather sinister picture by adding to the story Piso's remarks that Tiberius, should he cast the leading vote, would influence the other senators. The embarrassed Tiberius is then compelled to maintain his *dissimulatio* as a *civilis princeps* and vote for acquittal, but as Rogers points out, in the closer analysis of the series of events, "It now becomes perfectly evident that Tiberius' burst of anger was not directed against the defendant for the

seriousness of his offense, but against the accusers for the absurdity of their charges, and his intended vote was not as Tacitus believed, for conviction, but for acquittal.”²⁶

So it becomes clear that Tiberius was unwilling to prosecute treasonous statements made about himself, at least in the early years of his reign, which all the extant sources praise as a time of good government both home and abroad. But as this study has repeatedly endeavored to prove, the reign of Tiberius was based upon the charismatic image of Augustus. So the question remains, how did Tiberius treat cases of *maiestas* in which the defamation concerned the newly deified Augustus?

We have already shown above that the anti-Augustan history of Cremutius Cordus, if not solely responsible for his downfall, was certainly a contributing factor. The fact that his works were burned proves their incendiary nature (no pun intended). But oral statements made among private groups of people concerning the late princeps were an entirely different matter. With regards to perjury concerning Augustus, Tiberius himself asserted that *deorum iniurias dis curae* (*Ann.* 1.73). Nevertheless, slanders made against Augustus were not the same as the defamation of, say, a profligate Venus. Slanders against Augustus could easily be taken as slanders against the institution of the principate, hence subverting the new regime and the *pax Romana*.

The first case to treat oral verbal slanders against Augustus is that of Appuleia Varilla in 17 A.D. Attacked on charges of adultery, Appuleia was also accused of *maiestas*, *quia probrosis sermonibus divum Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem eius inlusissent* (*Ann.* 2.50). Tiberius insisted that these charges be treated separately. Concerning statements about himself, Tiberius responded *iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocare*. When asked about the slanders against his mother, Tiberius, as in the case of the

²⁶ *Criminal Trials* 10.

letter to Gytheion, said that he would consult her, and her response, not surprisingly, mirrored his. Suetonius (*Tib.* 28), Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.50), and Dio (57.9) all assert that in the early years of Tiberius' reign, he refused to allow slanderous speech against himself to be a cause for capital charges.

Nevertheless, Tacitus continues, *maiestatis crimen distingui Caesar postulavit, damnarique si qua de Augusto inreligiose dixisset*. Although Tiberius *liberavitque Appuleiam lege maiestatis*, this is the first crack of the door which blows wide open under Sejanus to allow delators to prosecute slanders against Divus Augustus. As Bauman points out, if the wording of Tacitus is to be believed, "The language is carefully chosen. Attacks on Divus Augustus were not weighed up as *ad infamiam alicuius* or *in notam aliquorum*, but as *inreligiose dicta*. It is not for nothing that Tacitus prefaces his account of this case with the observation that the *lex maiestatis* was 'growing up': '*adolecebat interea lex maiestatis*'."²⁷

There are no other cases of oral *maiestas* following that of Appuleia Varilla until the rise of Sejanus. Bauman is quick to point out, "As far as the emperor is concerned, therefore, the history of verbal injury in Tiberius' reign begins with Sejanus' rise to power in A.D. 23, and it is over the ensuing eight years that all the essential steps in forging the remarkable instrument of repression represented by the defamation category will be seen to have been taken."²⁸ But as we have already pointed out above, the main reason for the added insecurity of the position of Tiberius in these critical years 23-30 A.D. is the lack of an immediate successor. If, as we shall try to prove in the next

²⁷ *Impietas* 78. He goes on to add, perhaps a little overzealously, "The *senatus consultum* accepting the charge of *inreligiose dicta* against Appuleia Varilla is the most important single ruling in the entire history of *impietas in principem*."

²⁸ *Impietas* 113.

section, Tiberius was truly intent on making the sons of Germanicus his successors, it remains to be seen how the movements spurred by Agrippina to attack Tiberius endangered a peaceful succession, and why it was so important to protect Tiberius and the principate against such attacks.

But even under Sejanus, the majority of cases for *maiestas* resulting from attacks on Tiberius were dismissed, or the trials which did take place resulted from other charges. If *maiestas* was the accompaniment of every accusation, it nevertheless, was only an accompaniment, not the primary accusation, and was often dismissed. As Rutledge concludes in his study of delators under the principate:

The first eleven years of Tiberius' reign could have witnessed the grinding heel of oppression planted squarely on the necks of the Senate. Had the delatores had their way, they would have instituted a regime of tyranny and sent all forms of expression under the yoke. Yet they did not, and they failed because of Tiberius' diligence and tolerance...the prosecutions were few and far between after Sejanus in light of what the situation could have been. Tiberius had proved relatively magnanimous.²⁹

For example, in the trial of Gaius Silius and his wife Sosia for provincial misconduct, a charge which even Tacitus has to admit was fully justified, the defendants are also accused of making treasonous statements against Tiberius. Tacitus tells us that one of these statements made by Silius, not insignificantly a friend of the now-deceased Germanicus, was that it was his skill in suppressing possible mutiny among his legions upon the accession of Tiberius which had allowed Tiberius to take the throne (*Ann.* 4.18). Perhaps this is true, but such an inflammatory statement, even nine years after the fact, cannot be taken lightly, particularly in light of the dynastic situation in these years.

In addition to the charges of verbal *maiestas* and provincial maladministration, a charge was laid that Silius had suppressed knowledge of the uprising of the Gauls led by

²⁹ *Imperial Inquisitions* 103.

Julius Sacrovir. Tacitus presents the indictment as *conscientia belli Sacrovir diu dissimulatus, victoria per avaritiam foedata et uxor socia arguebantur* (Ann. 4.19).

These charges, in addition to the other statements made by Silius, lead one to believe that this case went far beyond insults to the emperor. Silius anticipated the outcome of the trial by suicide, and although Tacitus asserts that his suicide did not protect his property, there is every reason to believe that the supposed rapacity of Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 49), first shown in this case, extended only to the recovery of goods which Augustus had granted to Silius as a measure of formal *renuntiatio amicitiae*.³⁰ His wife Sosia was exiled, according to Bauman, as the first conviction for defaming Tiberius.³¹ But there is no evidence in Tacitus that Sosia's conviction was for defamation of Tiberius. She could just as easily have been sentenced to exile by conviction on any of the other charges against her.

Not too long afterwards, in 24 A.D., another example of deft Tacitean narration misleads one to believe that slanderous speech against Tiberius was the cause of a senator's downfall. But the case of Votienus Montanus is far more complicated than he would have us believe.³² Tacitus tells us that Tiberius was increasingly reluctant to attend senatorial meetings at which he repeatedly heard slanders directed against him, citing the following example:

nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas, testis Aemilius e militaribus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentis magna adseveratione nititur, audivit Tiberius probra, quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque percussus est, ut se vel statim vel in cognitione

³⁰ On this point see Bauman, *Impietas* 116ff.

³¹ *Impietas* 119.

³² Votienus Montanus had already been tried *apud Caesarem* on some charge brought by the colony of Narbo (Sen. *Contr.* 7.5.12). This trial may have taken place under Augustus or Tiberius. Either way, it sheds some light on Montanus' character prior to the charges of 24 A.D.

purgaturum clamitaret, precibusque proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre componeret animum. (Ann. 4.42)

The key point to note here, as Bauman points out, is that “the presence of a military witness suggests that Montanus may have been guilty of inciting soldiers to sedition.”³³ Combined with the case of Silius, the case of Montanus indicates a growing uneasiness between the military and Tiberius, probably spurred on by the popularity of Agrippina and her sons.

Perhaps the most sinister case of treasonable speech as *maiestas* under the regime of Tiberius is that of Titius Sabinus. Tacitus devotes a good deal of attention to this episode which he sees as a clear case of entrapment. According to Bauman, “With the trial of Titius Sabinus, Sejanianism came of age.”³⁴ In the account as told by Tacitus, the reason for Sabinus’ downfall seems to be his allegiance to the cause of Agrippina and treasonous statements concerning Tiberius and Sejanus, statements which were made in the belief that Sabinus was speaking in confidence, while in reality, he was being “bugged.” The ringleader, L. Latiaris induced three fellow senators to hide in the rafters of Sabinus’ house while he proceeded to lead Sabinus to make inflammatory comments about the princeps and his *adiutor*. It is under these circumstances that Tacitus writes, *Non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, sui tegens adversum proximos; congressus, conloquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur (Ann. 4.69).*

In the midst of this “reign of terror”, Tacitus records a letter written by Tiberius to the Senate, to be read on New Year’s Day, 28 A.D., accusing Sabinus of tampering with the imperial freedmen and attacking the princeps. The pathos of the scene as Sabinus is

³³ *Impietas* 120.

³⁴ *Impietas* 121.

being dragged to his execution almost makes one forget that he was indeed guilty of *maiestas*. In the passage immediately preceding the trial of Sabinus, Tacitus recounts the insinuations that Agrippina and Nero were being watched by Sejanus, with agents urging them to flee to the German legions or to clasp the effigy of Divus Augustus and incite the people to rebellion (*Ann.* 4.57). Regardless of the source of such designs, the fact that they were being considered placed everyone connected to Agrippina in jeopardy. It seems highly probable that Sabinus was guilty of some sort of treason. The elder Pliny states, *in nostro aevo actis p. R. testatum Appio Iunio et P. Silio coss., cum animadverteretur ex causa Neronis Germanici fili in Titium Sabinum et servitia eius* (*NH* 8.145). The fact that Sabinus' slaves were interrogated indicates the highest degree of *maiestas*—*perduellio* or high treason—not the lesser charge of treasonous speech.

There remain two more cases to be discussed regarding *maiestas* charges based primarily on treasonous speech against the imperial household. In the year 32 A.D., two cases of slander against Caligula occurred, both of which failed to result in successful prosecutions for *maiestas*. The first of these involved a long-time friend of Tiberius, Cotta Messalinus. Tiberius intervened to prevent prosecution of Cotta's slanders against the modesty of Caligula (*Ann.* 6.5). Likewise, in the case of Sextius Vistilius, Tiberius refused to prosecute slanders against Caligula, preferring instead to exercise his right to *renuntiatio amicitiae*. Vistilius, just as Gallus had done under Augustus, took the exclusion from the circle of the princeps as a death sentence, and committed suicide.³⁵ Neither case resulted in court proceedings.

³⁵ On the consequences of *renuntiatio amicitiae* under the principate, see Rogers, "The Emperor's displeasure—*amicitiam renuntiare*," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 224-237.

In summary, it can be seen that the cases of verbal treason which were brought before the senatorial court under Tiberius were either part of a larger case against the defendants, or were summarily dismissed by an impatient Tiberius. The exasperation of the elder statesman towards the end of his reign at the persistently futile attempts to prove that scandalous remarks made about the *domus Augusta* constituted *maiestas* has been read into the often-quoted and perhaps overly analyzed letter which Tiberius sent to the Senate in response to their inquiries about the matter concerning the statements made by Cotta. Tiberius wrote, *Quid scribam vobis, p. c., aut quo modo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii mi deaeque peius perdant quam cotidie perire sentio, si scio* (Suet. *Tib.* 67; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.6). Suetonius sees this as evidence of Tiberius' mental breakdown after several years of exile and the betrayal of his closest ally. But as Rogers points out, this letter is clearly placed by Tacitus in the context of the frivolous charges brought against Cotta.³⁶ The remainder of the letter, following the cryptic opening in which Tacitus sees the tyrant laying bare the torments of his soul, actually contained commendation of Cotta and a warning *ne verba prave detorta neu convivalium fabularum simplicitas in crimen duceretur* (*Ann.* 5.6). This letter comes after the downfall of Sejanus and long after the supposedly "good years" of Tiberius. So if we are to regard *maiestas* as the bugbear of the reign of Tiberius, we must look elsewhere than at examples of verbal treason.

The next area of *maiestas* under Tiberius to be considered is the consultation of astrologers, magicians, necromancers, etc. with a specific design against the state or the

³⁶ *Criminal Trials* 134ff., citing Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius* 202. Levick, "A cry from the heart from Tiberius Caesar," *Historia* 27 (1978) 95ff., takes the argument further to show the calculated and studied nature of the letter as an example of Tiberius' cleverness and wit.

imperial household.³⁷ The history of this crime can be traced back to the Republic, just as *maiestas* for treacherous speech had its origins in the laws drafted by Sulla. But in the same elusive and ambiguous manner through which Augustus had extended *maiestas* in the last years of his reign to cover offenses for treacherous speech, he also left the means by which consultation of astrologers could be seen as *maiestas* against the princeps. Moreover, members of the imperial household were deeply superstitious. Aside from Tiberius' close friendship with the astrologer Thrasyllus, it should also be remembered that Germanicus was convinced his death was prompted by magical talismans and incantations.³⁸

In the last years of Augustus' reign, the long-lived princeps was plagued by premature predictions of his demise. The matter came to a head and in the year 11 A.D., Augustus issued an edict which prevented consultation of astrologers without the presence of witnesses, as well as forbidding consultations concerning the prediction of death under any circumstances. At the same time, he confidently published his own horoscope.

The roots of this movement date back to the end of the Republic, as the role of Fortuna seemed to play an increasingly important role in the destiny of Rome's leadership. In his study on *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, Cramer characterizes the movement to squash the power of astrologers under Augustus in the following terms, "Of the great families of Republican Rome a number considered the Julian *gens* as an upstart and themselves entertained hopes of claiming the throne. Energetic noblemen,

³⁷ Each of the cases discussed below, with the exception of Clutorius Priscus, is given thorough treatment by Cramer, *Astrology in Roman law and politics* 251ff. On astrology and magic as a means of opposition, see MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* 95ff.

³⁸ On the superstition of the *domus Augusta* see Cramer, *Astrology* 81ff.

therefore, might easily be persuaded by astrological advisers that the coup which they planned was ‘destined’ to succeed.”³⁹

As Cramer astutely points out, the control of oracular information disseminated under the new regime began when Augustus as the new Pontifex Maximus reformed the Sibylline Books in 12 B.C. Even at the apex of his power the astute princeps recognized the need to control Fortuna. Augustus burned all the verses which he considered dangerous, destroying more than 2,000 spurious works. The remainder were to be kept under his watchful eye in the temple of Apollo.⁴⁰ It was thus not pedantic of Tiberius to have been so concerned when Asinius Gallus moved for the consultation of the Sibylline books after a major flood of the Tiber (*Ann.* 1.76) or when a plebeian tribune attempted to introduce new verses into the Sibylline canon (*Ann.* 6.12). In the latter case, Tiberius rebuked the *quindecimvir* responsible for bringing the matter before the Senate. According to Tacitus, *simul commonefecit, quia multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum, quem intra diem ad praetorem urbanum deferrentur neque habere privatim liceret*. Tiberius added further precedents from Republican times, but it is clear that his primary recourse was to the policy of Augustus.

It is under such circumstances and in such an atmosphere of, if not superstition, at least recognition of the power of prophecy and horoscope, that the cases of *maiestas* to which we now turn provoked such concern. The first of these is perhaps the most notorious, that of Libo Drusus in the beginning of Tiberius’ reign.

Tacitus begins his account of the trial of Libo Drusus with the statement, *sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas* (*Ann.* 2.27). The

³⁹ Ibid. 249.

⁴⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 31.1, Dio 54.27.2-3.

charge of revolutionary designs is allowed to fade into the background and eventually Libo is portrayed as the victim of his own silly consultation of astrologers.⁴¹ The language used by Tacitus indicates that the treason charges stemmed from the fact that Firmius Catus *iuvenem inprovidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes impulit*. The testimony of the younger Seneca reveals that these consultations, while they may have been foolish, were also overly ambitious. Seneca considers Libo, *adulescens tam stolidus quam nobilis, maiora sperans quam illo saeculo quisquam sperare poterat aut ipse ullo* (Ep. 70.10). The noble pedigree of Libo included Pompey, Scribonia, the former wife of Augustus and the mother of the elder Julia, and perhaps even through adoption, the house of Livia and the new emperor.⁴²

Clearly any consultation of astrologers or magi regarding the imperial household by such a *nobilis* could be taken as a sign of revolutionary intentions. The evidence produced against Libo was a book which contained the names of members of the *domus Augusta* as well as those of leading senators. There were sinister marks next to the names, presumably in Libo's own handwriting, although he himself denied it. Libo's slaves were transferred to the *actor publicus* so that they could testify against their master. Tacitus claims this was a new invention of Tiberius, the *callidus et novi iuris repertor* (Ann. 2.30), but Augustus had done the same thing.⁴³ With regards to the edicts issued by Augustus for the year 8 B.C., Dio states that many people were not pleased when Augustus ordered that slaves be sold to the *actor publicus* as need arose (ὅπως ὥς

⁴¹ On the discrepancy between fact and impression in this particular case, see Walker, *Annals* 92ff.

⁴² On the troublesome stemma of Libo, see Weinrib, "The family connections of M. Livius Drusus Libo," *HSCP* 72 (1967) 247-278.

⁴³ On the interrogation of slaves, see Robinson, *The Criminal Law of Ancient Rome* 64ff.

ἀλλότριος τοῦ κρινομένου ὧν ἐξετάζεται) so that they might testify against their masters (55.5.4). Dio continues to say that although people were unhappy with this policy, they recognized its necessity since many (*polloi*) were conspiring against Augustus himself as well as the other magistrates (*epi tais archais*).

Once Libo's slaves admitted the markings were his, the case escalated from the less serious charge of consulting astrologers to the far more serious charge of high treason. Bauman points out that the one accuser who failed to receive his due reward, the disgruntled Vibius Serenus, was the accuser who was assigned to deal with the charges of astrological consultation.⁴⁴ Libo anticipated the outcome of his trial by suicide, and Tiberius' statement that he would have pardoned Libo is of course discredited by Tacitus. That the trial encompassed more serious charges is perhaps indicated by the entry from the *Fasti Amiternini* for September 13, 16 A.D., the date of Libo's suicide, which reads, *fer. ex s.c. q. e. d. nefaria consilia quae de salute Ti. Caes. liberorumque eius et aliorum principum civitatis deq(ue) r.p. inita ab M. Libone erant in senatu convicta sunt.*

Indications that the charges of magical consultation stirred concern among the senatorial class can be seen by Tacitus' follow-up to the trial of Libo with the statement, *facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanus saxo deiectus est, in P. Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere (Ann. 2.32).* This ban apparently did not affect legitimate astronomers like Tiberius' good friend Thrasyllus, who continued to wield his power over the emperor to the very end.⁴⁵ More than likely Pituanus and Marcus were executed as a deterrent to those who would promise men like Libo more

⁴⁴ *Impietas* 60.

⁴⁵ On the influence of Thrasyllus and his legitimate scientific pursuits see Cramer, *Astrology* 99ff.

than they could hope to attain. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that in the case of Libo or those of the men mentioned above that Tiberius had gone beyond the precedents left by Augustus.

The next case of magical proceedings against the imperial family and leading men of the Senate which appears as *maiestas* is that of Aemilia Lepida in 20 A.D. In her case, *defertur simulavisse partum ex P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. Adiciebantur adulteria, venena quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris* (*Ann.* 3.22). Tiberius immediately ordered the Senate to drop the charge of *maiestas*. Lepida was found guilty on the other counts, but the case earned Tiberius no credit for being *civilis*, as Lepida generated massive sympathy with the *populus* for once being having been destined as the bride of Lucius Caesar (*Ann.* 2.33).

The next case of magical treason against the imperial house is one which poses the important question of Tiberius' involvement in the *maiestas* trials. In 21 A.D., while Drusus Caesar was presiding over the Senate as consul, charges were brought against Clutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, on the grounds that he had written a poem in expectation of rewards from the princeps. The problem was not one of unappreciative literary patronage, but rather that the subject matter of the poem was quite insensitive, particularly in a reign so plagued by succession struggles. Clutorius had been handsomely rewarded for his elegy on the death of Germanicus. When Drusus fell ill shortly afterwards, Priscus prematurely anticipated his demise. The poem and its contents, as Bauman points out, could be subsumed under the heading of magical incantations. The case is tried in Tiberius' absence, and Priscus becomes a victim of senatorial infighting and the contest for adulation Tacitus finds so repulsive. The fact

that Drusus himself was presiding over the Senate could not have helped his case much either.⁴⁶

After the condemnation of Priscus, the Senate voted for his execution, with Marcus Lepidus instead proposing that the penalty be that for one found guilty of *maiestas*, namely *aquae et ignis interdictio*. This would seem to indicate that Priscus was not found guilty of *maiestas* per se, but rather of “black magic”, which was forbidden by the Twelve Tables.⁴⁷ When Tiberius learned of the execution he demanded that any *senatus consultum* be allowed ten days for his veto before being deposited in the *aerarium* and made law, lest such a grave miscarriage of justice should occur again. As Tacitus cynically points out, *sed non senatui libertas ad paenitendum erat neque Tiberius interiectu temporis mitigabatur* (*Ann.* 3.51).

The next case of *maiestas* stemming from magical practices and consultation of astrologers occurs amidst the confrontations which take place before the final fall of Agrippina. Claudia Pulchra, a kinswoman of Agrippina, was brought to trial in 26 A.D. for *crimen inpudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones* (*Ann.* 4.52).⁴⁸ It is in the context of this trial that Tacitus reports Agrippina’s visit to Tiberius. Finding him busy with the worship of Augustus, Agrippina taunts him with her lineage, prompting the response translated from the Greek by Suetonius as, *Si non dominaris, filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas?* (*Tib.* 53; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 4.52). It seems clear from

⁴⁶ For Priscus as a victim of Drusus’ cruelty, see Rogers, “Two criminal cases tried before Drusus Caesar,” *CP* 27 (1932) 75ff.

⁴⁷ For the legal technicalities of the senatorial debate see Bauman, *Impietas* 62ff.

⁴⁸ The son of Claudia, Quintilius Varus, is designated by Seneca (*Cont.* 1.3.10) as *Germanici gener*.

this exchange that the charges were related to Claudia's allegiance to Agrippina.

Nevertheless, Claudia was not convicted of *maiestas*, but rather of adultery.⁴⁹

The last case of an accusation of *maiestas* resulting from magical practices comes after the fall of Sejanus with the trial of Scaurus initiated by Macro. We have already mentioned him above as the author of a play rebuking the tyrannical Tiberius under the guise of Atreus/Agamemnon, but mention should be made of the other charges—adultery with Livilla, and *magorum sacra* (*Ann.* 6.29). The case never came to trial and it seems highly probable that the charges of consulting *magi* would have been dropped.

In none of these cases is there evidence that any verbal statement made against the princeps or his family was ever cause for conviction on charges of *maiestas*. Nor was consultation of astrologers regarding the imperial family, *per se*, a cause for an accusation of treason. The cases of verbal *maiestas* which we have just discussed were all aggravated by other circumstances, and the charges of *maiestas* on a lesser level were dismissed.

We should now turn to the application of *maiestas* with regard to disrespect shown to plastic images of the emperor. A passage of the *Digest* recorded by Venuleius Saturninus reads, *qui statuas aut imagines imperatoris iam consecratas conflaverint aliudve quid simile admiserint lege Iulia maiestatis tenentur* (*Dig.* 48.4.6). Admittedly the significantly late testimony of the *Digest* poses major problems in reconstructing the law in the early days of the Roman principate, but it does provide a basis for examining why the delators felt they had the right to bring accusations of *maiestas* against those who had defaced or sold images of the emperors. Bauman notes this phenomenon as early as

⁴⁹ Tacitus writes tersely, *Pulchra et Furnius damnantur* (*Ann.* 4.52). The condemnation of Furnius proves the adultery charge, and it seems likely that had Pulchra been condemned for *maiestas*, Tacitus would have made this explicit. Instead, by his vague account he leaves the reader to assume the worst.

7-6 B.C., being mentioned in the famous edicts of Cyrene.⁵⁰ One of the charges brought against Aulus Stlaccius Maximus is that of having removed a statue of Augustus from a public site. The accused was ordered to remain in Rome until Augustus could investigate the matter. Indeed as De Visscher has pointed out, “C’est semble-t-il le plus ancien exemple d’une accusation fondée sur un outrage aux images impériales. Remarquons que l’accusation comporte un double chef, atteinte à la propriété publique et injure à l’Empereur. Sans doute est-ce une habileté, car l’accusation ainsi conçue permettait à la rigueur de l’Empereur de se déployer sans revêtir le caractère d’une vengeance personnelle.”⁵¹

We do not know the outcome of the case, but its absence from the accounts of historians seems significant. Presumably Augustus dismissed the charges, or did not, at any rate, treat the matter as *maiestas*. We can never really know for sure. Yet it is remarkable that the removal of a statue of Augustus from a provincial public display would warrant investigation by the princeps himself.

It is perhaps under this precedent and others like it that the first charges for defacement of a statue of Divus Augustus or the current emperor are brought forth under the heading of *maiestas*. Among the charges brought against Falanius, the Roman knight mentioned above who sullied Augustus name by including a notorious *mimus* among his *Augustales*, was that he had sold a statue of Augustus along with his estate. Concerning the matter which Tacitus first introduces as being worthy of note, *ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur*, Tiberius wrote to the Senate, *non ideo decretum patri*

⁵⁰ *Crimen maiestatis* 290ff.

⁵¹ *Les Édits* 85.

suo caelum ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur...nec contra religiones fieri quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant (Ann. 1.73). All of the charges were dismissed.

Tacitus immediately follows this account with the case of Granius Marcellus, who in addition to the other charges against him, including the slanders against Tiberius discussed above, was accused of placing his own statue higher than those of the Caesars and of removing the head of a statue of Augustus and replacing it with one of Tiberius (Ann. 1.74). At this point in the accusation, Tiberius expressed an outburst of anger, at least in the version Tacitus relates. Tacitus would have us believe that the outburst was due to the disgust of Tiberius with the slanders against himself, but the sequence of the narrative tells otherwise. In view of the picture portrayed in the second chapter of this study, it seems just as likely that Tiberius was upset over the informal *damnatio memoriae* of the newly deified Divus Augustus.⁵² Granius Marcellus was absolved of the charges of *maiestas*, but the emperor's displeasure at defacement of statues of Augustus, especially ones which attempted to flatter his successor was made perfectly clear. Tiberius knew well that his power lay in protecting the image of Augustus, not in projecting his own.

Regarding desecration of images of Tiberius, Bauman points out, "Whether by accident or design, Tacitus follows the same pattern in respect of the emperor's images as he does in respect of those of Divus Augustus. He describes a case in which a charge of desecration failed, and never returns to the subject for the purpose of attesting a successful charge."⁵³ Despite the vague allusions made by Suetonius (which we shall

⁵² On this view see Bauman, *Impietas* 76ff.

⁵³ *Impietas* 82.

discuss further below) and Dio, the testimony of Tacitus indicates that Tiberius did not allow images of himself to be protected under the heading of *maiestas*. The test case alluded to by Bauman is that of L. Ennius, a Roman knight, and also, perhaps not coincidentally, the son-in-law of Thrasyllus, Tiberius' *comes*.

Ennius was accused of melting down a silver statue of Tiberius and converting it into silverware (*Ann.* 3.70). When Tiberius attempted to dismiss the charge quietly, he was challenged by the noted jurist Ateius Capito. Capito complained, according to Tacitus, *Non enim debere eripi patribus vim statuendi neque tantum maleficium impune habendum. Sane lentus in suo dolore esset, rei publicae iniurias ne largiretur*. In response to which, *intellexit haec Tiberius, ut erant magis quam ut dicebantur, perstititque intercedere*. Tacitus sees this as yet another example of senatorial subservience, but more objective observers have noted that Capito may have been attempting to clarify the dismissal and to establish a precedent which Tiberius would be bound to follow in such cases. As Bauman points out, people may have thought Tiberius was dismissing the case as a favor to Thrasyllus, “but by persuading Tiberius to repeat his intercession after hearing the legal proposition Capito secured a definitive ruling on the law.”⁵⁴

We hear of no other cases in Tacitus regarding injury to images of the emperor being treated as *maiestas*, but in his biography of Tiberius, Suetonius reports with his usual vagueness some outrageous cases of just such behavior. In his account of the “bad” Tiberius, Suetonius summarizes:

Sub idem tempus consulente praetore an iudicia maiestatis cogi iuberet, exercendas esse leges respondit et atrocissime exercuit. Statuae quidam Augusti caput dempserat, ut alterius imponeret; acta res in senatu et quia ambigebatur,

⁵⁴ *Impietas* 83.

per tormenta quaesita est. Damnato reo paulatim genus calumniae eo processit, ut haec quoque capitalia essent; circa Augusti simulacrum servum cecidisse, vestimenta mutasse, nummo vel anulo effigiem impressam latrinae aut lupanari intulisse, dictum ullum factum eius existimatione aliqua laesisse. Perit denique et is, qui honorem in colonia sua eodem die decerni sibi passus est, quo decreti et Augusto olim erant. (Tib. 58)

Were we lacking the testimony of Tacitus, we might be inclined to believe the biographer. The first two sentences obviously refer to the inquiries of the praetor and the case of Granius Marcellus.⁵⁵ The others may be seen as generalizations perhaps too vague to merit further discussion. But it should be noted that the images which are so scrupulously protected by the tyrannical old emperor were not his own, but those of Augustus.

The somewhat more reliable testimony of the younger Seneca attests that such trivial things could be a cause for danger under the heading of *maiestas*. In his essay *De Beneficiis*, Seneca relates the story of a senator saved from doom by his quick thinking slave. The man was carrying a chamber pot while wearing a ring bearing the image of Tiberius (3.26). The passage bears closer examination, as does its sequel. Seneca writes, *Sub Tib. Caesare fuit accusandi frequens et paene publica rabies, quae omni civili bello gravius togatam civitatem confecit; excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas iocantium; nihil erat tutum; omnis saeviendi placebat occasio, nec iam reorum expectabantur eventus, cum esset unus* (3.26.1). The language of Seneca relates two important factors. First, the slaughters took place under Tiberius, but not necessarily at the instigation or by the will of Tiberius. Secondly, the exaggerated language of the slaughter as greater than that of all the civil wars is countered by the fact that in this particular case the accuser dropped the charges when he realized there was no evidence.

⁵⁵ Pace Bauman, *Impietas* 80, who believes Suetonius is referring to another case. The coincidence seems too great to me, as does the silence of Tacitus.

Immediately following upon this story of the *beneficium* done by slave for master under Tiberius, Seneca writes, *Sub divo Augusto nondum hominibus verba sua periculosa erant, iam molesta* (3.27.1). The anecdote recounts verbal slanders which nearly landed a senator named Rufus in hot water. Rufus, being inebriated, jokingly wished that Augustus would not return safely from a journey he was planning, quipping that all the bulls and calves which would be sacrificed upon his return wished the same. A slave encouraged him, when he had sobered up, to make haste and apologize to Augustus while he still could. The anecdote makes it clear that the dangerous litigation which burst forth under Tiberius was looming in the reign of Augustus. And yet Tiberius bears the blame for such evils.

Before we leave the subject of *maiestas* charges filed for defacing statues, mention should be made of the related tendency, seeking amnesty at statues. For both of these phenomena indicate that the statues of the Divus Augustus and the current emperor took on a quasi-religious significance which would justify the lawsuits discussed above which seem so frivolous. Bauman nicely summarizes the link as follows: “The general import of this is that *imagines Caesaris* were being made to furnish some sort of anticipatory right of asylum before and during the perpetration of *iniuriae*, the victims being powerless to interfere because of the charges of *maiestas* that they would face if they did.”⁵⁶

The first and most important case of such a phenomenon occurs in 21 A.D. Tacitus begins his account with the general statement, *Exim promptum quod multorum intimis questibus tegebatur. incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra et invidiam in bonos excitandi arrepta imagine Caesaris; libertique etiam ac servi, patrono*

⁵⁶ *Impietas* 86.

vel domino cum voces, cum manus intentarent, ultro metuebantur (Ann. 3.36). The breaking point was reached when the senator C. Cestius, having been harrassed by a woman named Annia Rufilla, decided to take his case before the Senate.⁵⁷ He argued, *principes quidem instar deorum esse, sed neque a dis nisi iustas supplicum preces audiri neque quemquam in Capitolium aliave urbis templa perfugere ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur*. Having successfully prosecuted Annia Rufilla for *fraus*, he was being insulted by her in public as she clung to an *effigies* of the emperor. Cestius' fellow senators attested to similar experiences, and Drusus, presiding over the Senate, was compelled to order Rufilla to be summoned and imprisoned (*publica custodia*).

The precedent was presumably then set which would last down to the time of the writers of the *Digest*. For there is cited the following:

Senatus consulto cavetur, ne quis imaginem imperatoris in invidiam alterius portaret: et qui contra fecerit, in vincula publica mittetur. (Scaevola lib. iv regularum Dig. 47.10.38)⁵⁸

Whatever one might believe regarding the dangers of *maiestas* in the later years of Tiberius, it becomes clear from this episode that at this point Cestius and his fellow senators placed enough faith in Drusus, and by association, Tiberius, that they felt they could complain about this phenomenon without fear of prosecution for *maiestas*.⁵⁹

Moreover, as Gamauf points out, "In keinem Text wird erwogen den Missbrauch des Asyls der Kaiserbilder als *crimen laesae maiestatis* zu verfolgen."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ On this case see Rogers, "Two criminal cases" 74ff.

⁵⁸ On the seemingly contradictory evidence of Dig. 48.19.28.7, see Bauman, *Impietas* 87ff., and Gamauf, *Ad statuum confugere licet* 146ff.

⁵⁹ Contra Gamauf, *Ad statuum* 141-142, who believes, "Gerade als Senator musste er diese Gefahr fürchten, da unter Tiberius ähnliche Fälle zu Anklagen und Verurteilungen geführt hatten, ja Anklagen wegen Majestätsverbrechen nach Ansicht des Tacitus geradezu an der Tagesordnung waren," citing Tac. Ann. 3.38 and the passage from Suetonius discussed above.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 145.

It should further be mentioned, however, that this denial of asylum applied only in requests which were considered unjustifiable or improper. In the heyday of Sejanianism, his minions encouraged Agrippina and Nero to cling to the statue of Divus Augustus for asylum. This would of course, provoke not only the right of asylum, but public outrage as well. The fact that they declined to take advantage of this suggestion indicates that they were well aware of the implications of such actions. This is in strong contrast to the behavior of the youthful Octavian, who as we mentioned in the second chapter, dragged the son of Antony away from the statue of Divus Julius in order to slaughter him.⁶¹ Nevertheless, there is a distinct difference between the treatment of the images of Tiberius and those of Divus Augustus. It seems clear that Tiberius thought little of protecting his own images while bearing hostility against those who abused images of Divus Augustus. At any rate, the individual cases show that Tiberius did not allow his indignation to exceed reasonable limits. We have no concrete examples of a successful prosecution of *maiestas* for defacement of images of the emperor or his father.

The last aspect of *maiestas* with respect to the royal family is perhaps the most problematic, as it is an attachment to a more obvious and punishable crime—adultery.

Ovid's *Fasti* for the month of May begins with a discussion among the Muses as to the origin of the name.⁶² Polyhymnia offers an explanation that the name comes from *Maiestas* and proceeds to tell the story of the birth of *Maiestas*. After the creation of the heavens, earth, and seas, everything existed in equilibrium, *par erat omnis honos* (5.18):

⁶¹ Suet. *Aug.* 17.

⁶² For a brief, yet incisive analysis of this passage see Mackie, "Ovid and the birth of *Maiestas*," in *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* 83ff., as well as Gundel, "Der Begriff *Maiestas* im Denken der augusteischen Zeit," in *Saeculum Augustum* I.126ff.

*donec Honor placidoque decens Reverentia voltu
 corpora legitimis imposuere toris.
 hinc sata Maiestas, hos est dea censa parentes,
 quaque die partu est edita, magna fuit.
 nec mora, consedit medio sublimis Olympo
 aurea, purpureo conspicienda sinu;
 consedere simul Pudor et Metus. omne videres
 numen ad hanc cultus composuisse suos.*
 (5.23-29)

It is significant that not only are Honor and Reverentia considered the parents of Maiestas, but also that she is placed alongside Pudor and Metus, modesty and fear.

After relating the downfall of the Giants who attempted to oust Jupiter, Polyhymnia goes on to sing:

*his bene Maiestas armis defensa deorum
 restat, et ex illo tempore culta manet.
 assidet inde Iovi, Iovis est fidissima custos,
 et praestat sine vi sceptrum timenda Iovi.
 venit et in terras: coluerunt Romulus illam
 et Numa, mox alii, tempore quisque suo.
 illa patres in honore pio matresque tuetur,
 illa comes pueris virginibusque venit;
 illa datos fasces commendat eburque curule,
 illa coronatis alta triumphat equis.*
 (5.43-52)

It is striking to note that in Ovid's aetiological account of the name of the month May as being derived from Maiestas the concept of the *maiestas* of the state, which leads men to seek honor, is linked to the *maiestas* of the *domus*, which leads children to honor their mothers and fathers. This goddess occupies the seat next to almighty Jupiter, who was often a basis for comparison with Divus Augustus.⁶³ It thus remains to be seen where the limitations lie for treatment of domestic *iniuriae* to the Jupiter on earth as injuries against the state.

⁶³ See especially Zanker, *The Power of Images* 230ff.

Bauman, in his thorough study of the downfall of the elder Julia, conjectures that the situation which had been building for a good deal of time finally crystallized in 2 B.C. as a result of Augustus' reception of the honorary title *pater patriae*. But this was not the only factor involved. As early as 35 B.C. Octavian had sought *tribunicia sacrosanctitas* for Octavia and Livia.⁶⁴ Part of this may relate to the similar privileges granted to Vestal Virgins, which as we remarked in the second chapter, were allocated to Livia. In conjunction with this increase of rights for the women of the imperial household comes the oath of loyalty sworn by *tota Italia* in 32 B.C. As later oaths came to incorporate not just the princeps, but members of his *domus*, it seems reasonable to believe that the foundations were laid for the identification of the *maiestas* of the princeps and his household with that of the state.

Bauman would make the distinction under Augustus between *maiestas violata* and *maiestas minuta*. The key point of departure for this discussion comes from Tacitus' account of the treatment of the two Julias and their paramours by Augustus. Upon the permission for his return being granted to Decimus Silanus, a lover of the younger Julia who was not formally exiled, but rather took the *renuntiatio amicitiae* of Augustus as a sign that he should leave Rome, Tacitus remarks, *casum eius paucis repetam. ut valida divo Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita domi improspera fuit ob impudicitiam filiae ac neptis, quas urbe depulit adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. nam culpam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam gravi nomine laesarum religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur* (Ann. 3.24).

The question then arises, what does Tacitus mean when he refers to Augustus as overstepping *suas leges*? Moreover, can we understand Tacitus' expression of *laesarum*

⁶⁴ Dio 49.38.1. See Bauman, *Crimen maiestatis* 217ff.

religionum ac violatae maiestatis as legal terminology for the justification given by Augustus in his letters to the Senate regarding these matters? As far as can be known, the only adulterer punished with death was Iullus Antonius, the ill-fated son of Marc Antony. Bauman has no doubts that the charge against him was “some form of *maiestas*.”⁶⁵ Whether or not a formal charge of *maiestas* was presented, the fact remains that adultery with the daughter or granddaughter of the princeps carried political implications.

The elder Pliny lists among the miseries of Augustus’ life:

tot seditiones militum, tot ancipites morbi corporis; suspecta Marcelli vota, pudenda Agrippae ablegatio, totiens petita insidiis vita, incusatae liberorum mortes luctusque non tantum orbitate tristis, adulterium filiae et consilia parricidae palam facta, contumeliosus privigni Neronis secessus, aliud in nepte adulterium; iuncta deinde tot mala, inopia stipendi, rebellio Illyrici, servitiorum dilectus, iuventutis penuria, pestilentia urbis, fames Italiae, destinatio exspirandi et quadridui inedia maior pars mortis in corpus recepta. (NH 7.149)

The account of Pliny makes clear that the domestic troubles which plagued Augustus were inextricably mingled with his political troubles.⁶⁶ There can be no denying that Julia the Elder was accused of and exiled on the grounds of adultery, flaunting the laws of her father in his face. But Pliny’s often discounted connection between the adultery of Julia and a plan of parricide leads one to question the motivation of the actions of the princeps and how those actions were justified by the official story.

Meise, in his thorough investigation of the intrigues surrounding the women of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, makes a careful distinction between what we can know for certain regarding the downfall of the elder Julia, and how the official sources may have portrayed the matter. Even if Iullus Antonius, Julia, and their circle were guilty of high

⁶⁵ Although, technically, Iullus Antonius committed suicide, he clearly stood accused of some serious offense. See *Crimen maiestatis* 205.

⁶⁶ On the unity of this passage and the significance of the domestic problems in their political context, see Tautz, *Das Bild des Kaisers Augustus* 363ff.

treason which was punishable under the heading of *maiestas*, the reason given for their punishment was adultery. It is this official version which is found in Velleius Paterculus, a writer with a vested interest in expressing the consequences of her mother's and grandmother's infidelities amidst the intrigues of the elder Agrippina in terms which would be suitable to the rule of Sejanus.

Velleius' account of the affair immediately follows his mention of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor and occurs shortly after the narration of the effect on the Roman Empire of the self-exile of Tiberius to Rhodes. Velleius recounts, *quippe filia eius Iulia, per omnia tanti parentis ac viri immemor, nihil, quod facere aut pati turpiter posset femina, luxuria <ac> libidine infectum reliquit, magnitudinemque fortunae suae peccandi licentia metiebatur, quicquid liberet pro licito vindicans. tum Iullus Antonius, singulare exemplum clementiae Caesaris, violator eius domus, ipse sceleris a se commissi ultor fuit* (2.100). Other adulterers listed by Velleius include Quintius Crispinus, Appius Claudius, Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio, *aliique minoris nominis utriusque ordinis viri*. According to Velleius, *quas in cuiuslibet uxore violata poenas pendissent, pendere cum Caesaris filiam et Neronis violassent coniugem*.

This account stands in striking contrast to Tacitus' version, where Augustus went beyond his own adultery laws in considering the adultery with his daughter as *violata maiestas* and *laesae religiones*. The men listed by Velleius as paramours of Julia, however, were not just ordinary men. They represent the cream of the nobility under Augustus, and the involvement of Iullus Antonius, son of the triumvir, indicates that this was a conspiracy to oust at least Tiberius, if not Augustus as well. But as Meise points out, the extreme popularity of Julia, as well as the increasingly important position of her

sons as Augustus' heirs, made it impossible to charge her with *maiestas*.⁶⁷ It would have undone the succession plan so carefully laid out by Augustus. Thus, in this case, we have charges of adultery masking the crime of conspiracy. Augustus sent a letter to the Senate informing them of her case, but we have no evidence that the matter was ever "tried."⁶⁸

The case of the elder Julia is so closely parallel to that of her daughter that the two are often conflated. Nevertheless, the circumstances surrounding the banishment of the younger Julia are significantly different. Julia the Elder had made a play for supreme power while her sons were in their ascendant. Her effort to free herself from her father and husband failed, but did not affect the succession. Julia the Younger was left out in the cold in the new arrangements made after the deaths of her brothers. As Meise points out, Agrippa Postumus and Agrippina had both been included in the new succession plan of 4 A.D., but Julia had no part.⁶⁹ She was married to Aemilius Paulus, a noble of dynastic importance to be sure, but certainly not in line for the throne. She had even less hope of tasting power after the banishment of her brother Agrippa. If the scandal surrounding the elder Julia contained a hint of conspiracy, that surrounding the younger Julia comprised everything but the smoking gun.

Suetonius recounts that the emperor Claudius was once betrothed to an Aemilia Lepida, the daughter of the younger Julia and Paulus, but *quod parentes eius Augustum offenderant, virginem adhuc repudiavit* (Claud. 26.1). In his life of Augustus, he lists among the conspiracies against Augustus, *exin Plauti Rufi Lucique Pauli progeneri sui*

⁶⁷ *Untersuchungen* 17ff. For the popularity of Julia after her banishment and the public outcry for her recall, see Suet. *Aug.* 65.

⁶⁸ For the question as to the method of legitimizing Julia's punishment through action in the Senate, or through an "imperial" court, see Bauman, *Crimen maiestatis* 231ff. Augustus could not punish Julia under *patria potestas* because the crime had not taken place in his own house.

⁶⁹ *Untersuchungen* 43ff.

(19.1). Paulus was condemned to death, but Julia was not implicated.⁷⁰ It has been suggested that Paulus would have been condemned for adultery had he not already been married to Julia. A scapegoat was needed to explain Julia's exile for adultery. That scapegoat was D. Silanus who inflicted exile upon himself after receiving word that the princeps had renounced his friendship. And no sufficient explanation can be given for the cruel decision of Augustus to expose his own great-grandson.⁷¹ As to why Julia was not accused of high treason for her role in the affair, the explanation, as that of her mother's case, lies in the extreme popularity of the "Julian" party (more on this term below).

Indeed, Suetonius lists after the conspiracies of the nobility a movement by Asinius Epicadus, perhaps a freedman of Asinius Gallus, *ex gente Parthina ibrida*, and a slave named Telephus to rescue the elder Julia and her son Agrippa and take them *ad exercitus* (Aug. 19.1). This plan had to have occurred between the exile of Agrippa and his death, and may perhaps be related to the plot of Paulus. Nevertheless, the danger posed by the false Agrippa after the accession of Tiberius indicates the extreme popularity of the exiled royals and their threat to peaceful rule.

This excursus on the two Julias has been necessary for two reasons. First of all, the use of adultery to conceal charges of high treason opens the door for the conflation of the two charges in the reign of Tiberius. Second, this discussion provides the background for the treatment of succession policy which will follow in the next section. But let us return to the matter at hand and briefly discuss the accusations made against women with imperial blood which were categorized as *maiestas*, following the example of the actions

⁷⁰ On the fate of L. Aemilius Paulus see Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* 115ff.

⁷¹ According to Suet. *Aug.* 65, *ex nepte Iulia post damnationem editum infantem adgnosci aliquo vetuit*. This implies exposure, although nothing else can be known of the matter.

taken by Augustus concerning his two daughters, whom, it must be remembered, Augustus never formally accused of such a crime.

Tiberius had no daughters. But as early as 17 A.D. a charge was brought against Appuleia Varilla, the great-niece of Augustus, of sullyng the good name of the *domus Augusta* through adultery (*Ann.* 2.50). As we have already seen, these charges were accompanied by charges of slandering the names of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia, in response to which Tiberius ordered the matter be investigated only with respect to slanders made against Divus Augustus. Although she was acquitted of that charge, nevertheless she was manifestly proven guilty of adultery. As she was *Caesari conexa*, some thought Tiberius would follow the policy set by Augustus in the banishment of the two Julias, but as Bauman points out, “Tiberius not only refused (uncharacteristically) to follow an Augustan precedent, but by leaving the case to the domestic tribunal he seems to have gone out of his way to make it clear that adultery by a member of the imperial house was not *maiestas*.”⁷²

But this is misleading, for as Bauman quickly points out, the case of Appuleia Varilla was not one of immediate danger. Her distant connection to the imperial family as well as the lack of political implications for her infidelity prove that Tiberius was in fact following Augustan precedent in this case by not making a mountain out of a molehill. Later cases will prove that Tiberius was more likely to protect the good name of Augustus from the misconduct of the imperial women when the case had serious political implications.

The first case where this is such is that of Aemilia Lepida. In Tacitus’ account of the trial of Aemilia Lepida, he relates that she stirred up support for her cause by leading

⁷² *Crimen maiestatis* 234.

the *clarae feminae* into the theater built by her ancestor Pompey, and reminding the people that she was *destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus* (*Ann.* 3.23). At this time, Lucius had been dead for fifteen years, Augustus for three, yet their names still inspire such hostility against the persecutors of Lepida that the trial prompts leniency when Lepida was manifestly proven guilty. Tiberius was careful to avoid increasing the hostility against the Claudian line by exempting Drusus from speaking first in the case (*Ann.* 3.22). Furthermore, the charges of treason were dropped, and the other charges became the basis of the indictment. Tiberius had learned from Augustus how to defuse a potentially dangerous situation.

Mention should also be made of an unusual case shrouded in mystery which occurred at the end of Tiberius' reign. Tacitus reports that in the year 37 A.D., as Tiberius' health was declining and Macro was increasingly secure in his control over the incoming and outgoing emperors, *dein multorum amoribus famosa Albucilla, cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo coniurationis indice fuerat, defertur impietatis in principem* (*Ann.* 6.47). In this case, as Albucilla was not connected directly to the imperial household, her adultery could not be considered *maiestas per se*. But her lovers, listed by Tacitus, included Vibius Marsus, L. Arruntius, and perhaps most importantly, the husband of the younger Agrippina, Cn. Domitius. Although no coup was pulled off and the Senate stalled until Tiberius died, one must ask, what was the nature of this conspiracy and what could they have hoped to achieve? As Bauman points out, the answer lies in the nature of the accuser. Macro, like Sejanus, was ridding himself of

political enemies, or in the case of Domitius, threats to the power of the soon-to-be emperor Caligula.⁷³

This last case, then, leads us into the discussion which ultimately began this entire study—succession.

B. Succession policy

Many scholars throughout the years have attempted to split the Julio-Claudian dynasty into two factions, the Julian and the Claudian.⁷⁴ But due to intermarriage between powerful families in the late Republic and the reign of Augustus it is difficult to separate the two *gentes* and their interests quite so easily.⁷⁵ Augustus had been keenly aware of the strength of the Julian line, but recognizing the Claudians as an effective support, he was careful to arrange marriages so that Caligula, Claudius, and Nero could claim to be descended from both houses. There is no need to go into an elaborate stemma here, but it is important to recognize that the charismatic power of Augustus gave an edge to those boasting direct descent from his bloodline. We have already mentioned the episode in which Agrippina claims to be his living effigy when she feels her position is being threatened. This struggle between Tiberius and Agrippina casts its shadow across the reign of Tiberius and beyond.

1. Germanicus

Returning to the discussion which began this study—the succession of Tiberius to the position of Augustus—we should also examine in greater detail the policy of

⁷³ *Impietas* 130ff. Bauman points out that Tacitus does not explicitly name *maiestas* as the charge, and claims that the charge was the newly invented “*impietas in principem*.”

⁷⁴ For a brief overview of this scholarly designation, as well as an argument for the opposite extreme of designating the parties “Scribonian” and “Livian” based upon the two wives of Augustus and their children, see Levick, “Julians and Claudians,” *G&R* 22 (1975) 29ff.

⁷⁵ The invaluable prosopographical work of Syme has made this abundantly clear, especially in *The Augustan Aristocracy*.

succession as Augustus left it. As we noted in the introductory chapter, Augustus had discounted any possible rule by his last remaining grandchild, Agrippa Postumus, but was careful to ensure that the claims of Germanicus would supercede those of Drusus, Tiberius' natural son. The accounts of the mutinies which followed the death of Augustus allow for the possibility that Germanicus was put forth as an alternative to his uncle/father. Germanicus declined the offer, which may or may not have been valid. He would prefer to wait his turn. But his turn never came. It is then left to speculate two things: 1) did Tiberius prefer Germanicus over his own son Drusus, and 2) had Germanicus become emperor, what would have been the nature of his reign? The two questions are closely intertwined and require simultaneous examination.

The first of these questions should be examined in light of the evidence which was addressed in the third chapter regarding the presentation of Germanicus' death in official documents. Moreover, in looking at the dynamic between Tiberius and Germanicus, it becomes inevitable that we must also discuss the behavior of Germanicus' wife Agrippina. In doing so, it should be remembered that while Tiberius could boast no Julian blood, Germanicus was the grandson of Augustus' sister, Octavia. He was thus also the grandson of Marc Antony, a point to be discussed later. Agrippina was the daughter of Julia, the disgraced daughter of Augustus. Their children could claim Julian descent on both sides, with Germanicus also bringing, as Livia's grandson, a Claudian interest. Drusus, on the other hand, was the son of the pureblood Claudian Tiberius and Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa by the daughter of Pomponius Atticus, the friend and correspondent of Cicero. It becomes clear that while Drusus' blood may have been noble, Germanicus' blood was "royal."

Aside from his Julian blood and his marriage to a Julian woman, Germanicus also conveyed an air of personal charisma. One might compare him in recent history with the figure of John F. Kennedy, Jr., a symbol of charismatic lost potential mourned for dying young before he had had a chance to prove his inability to live up to expectations. In ancient times, Germanicus was inevitably compared to Alexander the Great, another factor which we shall address in discussing what kind of leader he would have made. Here let us say that he was immensely popular and astronomically more charismatic than Tiberius.

According to Tacitus, the *vox populi* at Germanicus' funeral discussed, *vera prorsus de Druso seniores locutos: displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia populum Romanum aequo iure complecti reddita libertate agitaverint* (*Ann.* 2.82). Thus Tacitus, among others, believed that Germanicus, like his father Drusus, was suspected of wishing to restore the Republic.⁷⁶ His popularity among the people was translated into the view of Germanicus as the champion of *libertas*. But nothing could be farther from the truth. As Tacitus was well aware, such *libertas* could easily become *licentia*, and the actions of Germanicus indicate that he was more interested in moments of glory than the long-term welfare of the state.⁷⁷ Indeed,

⁷⁶ On the senatorial conception of Germanicus, see Gallotta, *Germanico* 27ff. Regarding the story told by Suetonius that Tiberius maliciously revealed to Augustus a letter of Drusus the Elder *qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat* (*Tib.* 50.1), it falls under the passages regarding the “bad” Tiberius, presumably drawn from an anti-Tiberian source. Nowhere else is any hostility towards Drusus shown by Tiberius, but rather an extraordinary brotherly affection. See Val. Max. 5.5.3, Pliny *NH* 7.84, Livy *per.* 142, Seneca *ad Polyb.* 15.5, *Consolatio ad Liv.* 89-94.

⁷⁷ On this point, see Ross, “The Tacitean Germanicus,” *YCLS* 23 (1973) 225ff. and Gallotta, *Germanico* 85ff.

according to Tacitus, the scuttlebutt at Germanicus' funeral asks not "What if he had become princeps?", but rather, "What if he had become king?" (*Ann.* 2.73).⁷⁸

In a recent study of the exile poetry of Ovid, *Il Perdono Negato: Ovidio e la corrente filoantoniana*, Luisi has argued that the reason for Ovid's exile was not stumbling upon the younger Julia committing adultery, but something much more serious. His argument seems logical as Ovid's punishment was neither sanctioned by the Senate, nor was it more lenient than the punishment of the two committing the crime, Julia and D. Silanus. Clearly Ovid knew something which he could never reveal, not even after Augustus' death. While Luisi does not explicitly state what he believed the crime to be, he conjectures, rightly in my opinion, that the political conspiracy may very well have had to do with Germanicus.

After the death of Augustus, Ovid turned all his prayers to Germanicus and his circle of friends. As we have seen, part of the reason for this may have been his awareness that Tiberius was not likely to disturb affairs settled by Augustus. But Tiberius had allowed D. Silanus who had committed adultery with the younger Julia to return. Why not Ovid? The distance of Ovid's relegation, the addressees of his letters, and the attitude he takes towards the principate all seem to indicate that Ovid was courting in Germanicus a future emperor in the mold of the Hellenistic kings.

We shall not attempt here a thorough analysis of the relationship between Germanicus and Tiberius. That has been extensively scrutinized by others already, as has

⁷⁸ In comparison with Alexander, the people ask, *quid si solus arbiter rerum, si iure et nomine regio fuisset...*

the drama enacted between the two in the first two books of Tacitus' *Annals*.⁷⁹ Instead, we should examine the public implications of Germanicus' actions and Tiberius' reactions, and how they affected the succession policy laid down by Augustus upon his death. In doing so, we must realize that whatever the personal relationship was between these two men (which can never truly be known), Tiberius' reservations regarding his brother's son were to a certain extent justified. Nevertheless, publicly, Tiberius made every effort to control the charisma of his adopted son without damaging his chances for succession after Germanicus might have had time to learn from his mistakes.

In the early books of Tacitus' *Annals*, despite the heroic presentation of Germanicus, there is the distinct impression that the young man still had a lot to learn. The contrast between the discretion of Blaesus and Drusus in quieting the Pannonian mutiny and the ineptitude of Germanicus in handling the German troops, at least as Tacitus portrays it, displays Germanicus, although with the best of intentions, reacting rashly and often with the worst results. His offer to commit suicide, for all its theatricality, was too readily accepted. His forgery of a letter from Tiberius (definitely not a bright idea) was immediately recognized as fraudulent. His concessions to the soldiers, including paying the donative promised in the will of Augustus from his own pocket, led the soldiers to assume, as well as Tiberius to suspect, that his desperate measures were currying excessive favor with the massive troops under his command. As Shotter points out, building on a point first made by Orelli, "this demand recognised Germanicus as the lawful heir; considering Tiberius' sensitivity, this point is hardly likely to have been lost upon him, and he may even have interpreted Germanicus'

⁷⁹ On the relationship between Germanicus and Tiberius, see in general Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* 50ff. On the implications of Tacitus' presentation of Germanicus for interpretation of Tacitus' views of the principate, see Ross, "The Tacitean Germanicus" 209-227.

payment of the legacy as implying his involvement in the plots of the mutineers.”⁸⁰ And yet the “pro-Tiberian” Velleius, writing at least ten years after the death of Germanicus and amid the downfall of his wife and children still praises the actions of Germanicus in the mutiny.⁸¹ Whatever Tiberius may have felt about his nephew’s inappropriate actions or the later insubordination of Agrippina, it seems there was still a concerted effort to display *concordia* within the *domus Augusta*.

After Germanicus finally quelled the rebellion with cruel justice (Germanicus, upon seeing the slaughter, was said to have remarked, *non medicinam...sed cladem* (*Ann.* 1.49)), he allowed his men’s passion to direct his military strategy (*truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris*). What followed was an unprovoked raid upon unarmed Marsi. The description of the slaughter given by Tacitus is anything but heroic. *Non sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit; profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum, quod Tanfanae vocabant, solo aequantur. sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos aut palantes ceciderant. excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes, saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus, insedere* (*Ann.* 1.51). Not only had Germanicus won an inglorious victory, but in direct violation of the foreign policy which had just been proclaimed by Tiberius as the will of Augustus, he had provoked a new conflict with the Germanic tribes.

After some successes and even greater disasters, Germanicus finally avenged, for public consumption at any rate, the disaster inflicted by the Germanic tribes upon the Roman military reputation, the *clades Variana*. Tiberius recalled him from the field,

⁸⁰ “Tacitus, Tiberius and Germanicus,” *Historia* 17 (1968) 201, with reference to Furneaux I.228. These events take place in *Ann.* 1.35-37.

⁸¹ 2.125.1-3, attributing the quashing of the rebellion to the *veteris imperatoris maturitas*, i.e. Germanicus. Velleius’ account is decidedly more succinct and less detailed than that of Tacitus.

even though Germanicus insisted that he could finish the war (whatever that may have meant) with just one more year of campaigning. Tiberius, having spent the majority of his adult life campaigning in the Roman army probably knew best in this case. But the emperor was careful to couch his recall in discreet terms (*Ann.* 2.26).

Germanicus, as we observed in the previous chapter, was to be rewarded with a diplomatic mission in the east, just as the youthful Gaius Caesar and Agrippa had once been honored, indeed, even as Tiberius himself had in his recovery of the Parthian standards and the resettlement of 20 B.C. Velleius Paterculus exclaims upon this assignment, *quanto cum honore Germanicum suum in transmarinas misit provincias* (2.129). Nevertheless, Germanicus saw it as a slight. To counter the erratic and overly exuberant charisma of his adopted son, Tiberius made perhaps the greatest mistake of his political career by sending as his assistant Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso. As Shotter concludes, “Although Marsh is clearly correct in thinking that Tiberius chose his friend Cn. Piso to accompany Germanicus as being a man of independent spirit who would not adopt a subservient position to the young Caesar, the choice turned out to be unfortunate for the reason that Piso evidently proved himself to be more independent than Tiberius realised.”⁸² We have already seen the public reaction and the official statement made by the imperial household on the death of Germanicus, but his charisma and bearing up until his death beg further examination.

In a show of solidarity with his brother, the first stop Germanicus makes on his trip through the east is to visit Drusus at Illyricum. This testifies to the statement made by Tacitus that despite the efforts of other members of the court to tear them apart, the

⁸² “Tacitus, Tiberius and Germanicus” 205.

brothers maintained a cordial affection for each other, as well as a respect for each other's position.⁸³ Tacitus indicates, however, that the accord of the brothers was threatened:

Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat; Germanico alienatio patrum amorem apud ceteros auxerat, et quia claritudine mater<ni> generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium, avunculum Augustum ferens. contra Druso proavus eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur. et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam, uxorem Drusi praecebat. sed fratres egregie concordēs et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi. (Ann. 2.43)

We shall see below to what extent Tacitus' statements are true regarding Tiberius' preference for Drusus. But if they reflect more the opinion of the time than Tacitus' own thoughts, it is telling that the comparison between the two brothers is made not by their deeds, but by their blood.

En route to his new command, Germanicus takes a tour through the Greek cities, notorious, as we witnessed in the second chapter, for their adulation of the imperial household. At Athens, Germanicus encouraged, even if inadvertently, excessive honors and attention to be shown towards himself and his family. According to Tacitus, *hinc ventum Athenas, foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum, ut uno lictore uteretur. exceperunt Graeci quaesitissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque praeferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio haberet (Ann.2.53)*. This Greek *adulatio* disgusted the Republican sentiments of Germanicus' assistant for affairs in the east, Piso. Piso having arrived at Athens shortly after Germanicus, *oblique Germanicum perstringens, quod contra decus Romani nominis non Athenienses tot cladibus extinctos, sed conluviem illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios (Ann. 2.55)*. The connection Piso makes between the Athenian alliance with Antony and Germanicus' actions should not be overlooked.

⁸³ On this point, see Gallotta, *Germanico* 163ff.

It is to be remembered that Germanicus was the grandson of Marc Antony. Tacitus recalls at Actium, Germanicus' most recent stop before Athens, *namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaue illic imago tristium lateorumque* (*Ann.* 2.53). In Tacitus' view, Germanicus was as much a potential Antony as a member of the household of Augustus. Yet his behavior in Egypt, which we discussed in the previous chapter, demonstrates that despite his best intentions Germanicus was more the grandson of the former than the grand-nephew of the latter.

One last incident should be mentioned during Germanicus' sojourn in the east. According to Tacitus, *vox quoque eius [Piso] audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur, principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari* (*Ann.* 2.57). Piso's Republican sensibilities were offended not only by the gesture made by the Nabataeans, easterners accustomed to Hellenistic royalty, but also by Germanicus' acceptance of the gesture. As he had previously been perturbed when Germanicus had adopted Hellenistic customs in Athens and Alexandria, Piso loudly proclaimed his disgust at this acceptance of a golden crown.

Many have seen parallels in Germanicus' behavior, particularly in the east, to the life of Alexander the Great. The account which Tacitus gives of Germanicus' funeral indicates that this comparison may have been contemporary to Germanicus. The Alexander tradition in Rome was very rich, and comparisons had been made between Julius Caesar and Alexander, and between Augustus and Alexander.⁸⁴ The significant

⁸⁴ See Spencer, *The Roman Alexander*.

differences between the two, however, are played up by those at Germanicus' funeral in Antioch, with Germanicus appearing the better for it.⁸⁵

Despite all his faults, Germanicus was still charismatic through his own *comitas*. But more importantly, he bore the charismatic Julian blood and his wife was a direct descendent of Augustus. Their children were ideal for carrying on the bloodline of Augustus. But were they ideal for carrying out the principles of Augustus? The sequel proves otherwise, as the actions of Agrippina after the death of Germanicus attest, as do the reigns of Caligula and Nero. As Pelling has pointed out in his analysis of Tacitus' treatment of Germanicus, which he sees as going beyond the simple use of Germanicus as a foil for Tiberius, the comparison of public opinion at the funerals of Augustus and Germanicus employed by Tacitus leaves only a positive opinion of the younger Julian. He notes:

This ring with Augustus' obituary is most suggestive. It reflects the unity of the first two books, and the poles of the comparison are here, not Germanicus and Tiberius, but Germanicus and Augustus....The manner of Augustus might be different from that of Tiberius; Augustus has his own brand of *comitas* and civility, though a more calculating variety than Germanicus'. But the difference of style is a faint mask for the shared and deeper truth.⁸⁶

Augustus may have given his charismatic blood to Germanicus, but not his political savvy. That he bequeathed to Tiberius.

Nevertheless, Augustus had made it clear that he wished Tiberius to leave the principate to Germanicus, not his natural son Drusus. Despite the innuendoes that Tiberius despised his nephew, the facts themselves must be examined to see whether or

⁸⁵ On this point, see esp. Gissel, "Germanicus as an Alexander figure," *C&M* 52 (2001) 277-302, as well as Braccisi, "Germanico e l'imitatio Alexandri in occidente," in *Germanico: la persona, la personalità, il personaggio* 53ff.

⁸⁶ "Tacitus and Germanicus," in *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* 79.

not Tiberius in any way hindered the succession of Germanicus and excessively promoted his own son in preference to his nephew.

In the year 4 A.D., as we have repeatedly mentioned, Augustus adopted as his son Tiberius and his last living grandson, Agrippa. We observed in the first chapter what became of the latter. We also noted that according to Suetonius, before he was adopted by Augustus, Tiberius was compelled (*coactus prius*) to adopt Germanicus (*Tib.* 15). We have no way of knowing how much earlier Tiberius adopted his nephew, who had lost his father in 9 B.C. It is entirely possible that before his exile Tiberius had assumed tutelage of Germanicus. At any rate, the affection which Tiberius felt for his brother, even years after his death, makes it likely that he would not have been averse to such an arrangement whereby he was compelled to adopt his brother's son.

As Levick has pointed out, the adoption of Germanicus by Tiberius, taking place prior to the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus made Germanicus and the younger Drusus legally brothers.⁸⁷ In such a case, they both shared equally in the prestige of the adoption of their father by Augustus. While Germanicus may have been more directly in the line for the throne by blood, by law Germanicus and Drusus shared designation for succession. The honors which each brother received before the death of Augustus indicate preference for Germanicus, but only a slight one. Both men were quaestors under Augustus, with Germanicus receiving a quinquennial remission for age as his father and Tiberius had. Drusus received a similar remission.⁸⁸ Both were allowed to

⁸⁷ "Drusus Caesar and the adoptions of A.D. 4," *Latomus* 25 (1966) 227-244.

⁸⁸ For the remission, see Suet. *Cal.* 1.1. The comparison of the two men's careers has been made by Sumner, "Germanicus and Drusus Caesar," *Latomus* 26 (1967) 413-435 in response to Levick op. cit. Sumner argues that Germanicus received preferential treatment until the death of Augustus, denying Drusus' remission for the quaestorship. Levick sees the careers of the brothers as equal until the death of Augustus. While I am inclined to agree with Sumner, it matters little here, as we are concerned with the treatment of Germanicus after the death of Augustus.

pass directly from the quaestorship to the consulship with remissions. Germanicus was consul twice (12 A.D., 18 A.D.), as was Drusus (15 A.D., 21 A.D.). Thus far their careers seem equally balanced.

Nevertheless, there was one significant difference between their careers both before and after the death of Augustus. When Tiberius was trying to justify to Germanicus why he was being reassigned to settle affairs in the east, he told the Senate, *nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientia componi; nam suam aetatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse* (*Ann.* 2.43). Sumner correctly interprets this passage by pointing out that there was no significant difference in age between Germanicus and Drusus which would justify Tacitus' (and perhaps Tiberius') use of the word *adolevisse*. Rather, the reference is to Drusus' lack of military experience. For while Germanicus had been winning victories in Germany, Drusus had stayed at Rome handling domestic affairs.⁸⁹

In this context, Tiberius' other excuse for recalling Germanicus seems less sinister, namely, *si foret adhuc bellandum, relinqueret materiem Drusi fratris gloriae, qui nullo tum alio hoste non nisi apud Germanias adsequi nomen imperatorium et deportare lauream posset* (*Ann.* 2.26). Of course Tiberius had no intention of continuing hostilities in Germany. Nevertheless, Drusus was dispatched to Illyricum to acquire military experience, although Tacitus would lead us to believe that Tiberius sent him to the army more out of a desire to remove him from the corrupting influence of city life (*Ann.* 2.44).

⁸⁹ Ibid. 429.

At any rate, Drusus never received one imperatorial acclamation, let alone the two enjoyed by Germanicus.⁹⁰

Aside from his lack of military experience, Drusus was also at a disadvantage to Germanicus in another way—his marriage. Aside from the rumors that he was later killed by his wife in collusion with Sejanus, Drusus was also unfortunate in his marriage to the sister of Germanicus in that she failed to prove as fertile as her sister-in-law Agrippina. Drusus' wife Livia (Livilla) had the same blood as Germanicus, including the traces of Julian blood, but her children were less Julian by far than Agrippina's. At the time of Augustus' death, his wishes were made clear by his will. Tiberius and Livia were heirs in the first degree. In the second degree were listed Germanicus and Drusus. However, Germanicus, as the father of three male children at the time was to receive two-thirds of the inheritance, while Drusus, who may have only had a daughter at the time (possibly a son who died in infancy was not yet born) received only one-third.⁹¹

We noted in chapter three the accolades voted to Germanicus both before and after his death and we have just shown that prior to his death, Germanicus enjoyed tremendous popularity not only due to his own personal charisma, but also due to his high profile in the military affairs which earn glory and propagate charisma. Germanicus was also granted proconsular *imperium*, a term which continues to confuse modern scholars as to its exact meaning in designation of imperial succession. Drusus, on the other hand, remained in Rome attending to matters before the Senate, and failing to win the laurels his brother was earning.

⁹⁰ This is pointed out by Levick, "Drusus Caesar," 240. She cites *ILS* 176ff., which includes citations for Germanicus. Mention should also be made of *ILS* 166-169 which list the titles of Drusus.

⁹¹ On the problems for determining the birthdates of the various children, see Levick, "Drusus Caesar" 241.

We have also already discussed the public implications of the trial of Piso in our analysis of the *SCPP* and the *Tabulae Hebana* and *Siarensis*. We might add here, however, by way of exonerating Tiberius from any implication in Germanicus' death, that in all likelihood Germanicus died a natural death. The allegations of witchcraft and poisoning made by a dying man became an effective weapon against Piso, who although acquitted on charges of murdering Germanicus, was manifestly guilty of overstepping his command. The following conclusions drawn by Seager closely mirror our own:

Germanicus had been the successor designated by Augustus and, whatever he may have felt about the passing over of Drusus, Tiberius had always accepted Germanicus as such. There is nothing to suggest that he ever dreamed of reversing Augustus' decision on this vital point, and although his lack of affection for Germanicus seems to have made him delay the final step—Germanicus had never been granted the tribunician power—it is likely that he would soon have retired in Germanicus' favour, despite any pressure that Livia might bring to bear. The situation created by Germanicus' death was not an agreeable one. While Germanicus was alive, Agrippina was more of a nuisance than a danger, and Tiberius had only to retire and so satisfy her yearning to be empress for her to cease to be a thorn in his flesh. But now more time would have to elapse before Drusus, the obvious successor—at least until one of Germanicus' sons was old enough to replace him—was ready to take over from his father, and all that time an unattached Agrippina would be constantly pressing for the rapid advancement of her sons in her impatience to rule as the princeps' mother, now that her dream of ruling as the princeps' wife had been shattered. It is inconceivable that Tiberius welcomed this prospect, for himself or eventually for his son.⁹²

2. Drusus

Upon the death of his adopted brother, Drusus survived as the sole adult male member of the *domus Augusta* who was capable of succeeding Tiberius. The children of Germanicus would have their turn, but Drusus was now to enjoy a brief moment in the spotlight. In the period between the death of Germanicus and the death of Drusus, Tiberius designated Drusus as his successor by granting him tribunician *potestas*, a power never granted to Germanicus. The grant was not meant to be a sign that Drusus was to be

⁹² *Tiberius* 111.

seen as superior to Germanicus, but rather Germanicus had died before the age of thirty-five, the age at which Tiberius had received tribunician *potestas* from Augustus and the year in which Drusus received this power.⁹³

But even if Drusus had been designated as heir to the throne, this did not mean that his children were to succeed him. Tiberius seemed determined to follow the wishes of Augustus in handing the succession back to the Julian line. Indeed, it seemed inevitable, as at the time of Germanicus' death, Germanicus' sons—Nero, aged 15, Drusus, aged 12, and Caligula, aged 7—were the only male members of the *domus Augusta* from that generation. Drusus may have been blessed by twins in the same year as his brother's death, but they would obviously not be able to succeed their father for at least twenty years (we have yet to reach the time of Nero the teenage emperor). In addition to the natural affection which Drusus felt for his nephews (*Ann.* 4.4), Tiberius was shrewd enough to bind the two houses by marriage. Drusus' daughter Julia married Germanicus' son Nero. The match of course turned out to be fatal to the young man later on, but at the time it manifested Tiberius' public position that the children of Germanicus were to enjoy succession.

Tiberius was also careful to keep Nero and Drusus in the spotlight without spoiling them. Hesitant to reenact the scenario of 6 B.C. whereby Gaius was nominated for the consulship at the absurd age of 15, and the atmosphere which led to his own retirement to Rhodes, Tiberius chose carefully the designations and acclamations the pair would receive, although Agrippina pushed for more. On June 7, 20 A.D., Nero assumed the *toga virilis* and Tiberius asked for a remission of the *quinquennium* on the

⁹³ On the respective ages of Germanicus and Drusus and their respective offices, see Sumner, "Germanicus and Drusus Caesar" 413ff., refuting Levick, "Drusus Caesar" 227ff.

quaestorship with an exception from the vintigivirate, in accord with the precedent set under Augustus in which the same remission was made for himself and Nero's grandfather, Tiberius' brother Drusus. Nero was also granted a pontificate and a largesse was made to the plebs in his name (*Ann.* 3.29).

While the children of Germanicus were being promoted, Drusus was proving to be a rather effective leader. As Tiberius increasingly withdrew from Rome, ostensibly for reasons of health, Drusus was left to conduct matters on his behalf. The account left by Tacitus, presumably drawing for this part of his narrative on the *acta senatus*, leads us to believe that Drusus was earning increasing respect among the Senate and the people. The assurance of the house of Germanicus, especially the marriage connection between Julia and Nero, surely assuaged the fears of the people that the charismatic line of Augustus would be replaced by the Claudian bloodline.

Thus Drusus recommended himself as *civilis* by ruling in favor of an ex-praetor who had been slighted by a young noble at the theater (*Ann.* 3.31), by speaking in favor of allowing wives to accompany their husbands on military duty (*Ann.* 3.33)—a motion spurred no doubt by the recent behavior of Agrippina and Plancina among the troops—and by taking charge in the affair of Ania Rufilla discussed in the previous section of this chapter whereby the use of the princeps' image as sanctuary was limited to just causes. Under Drusus the Senate also convicted two *equites* of *calumnia* after their failed attempt to prosecute Magius Caecilianus for *maiestas* (*Ann.* 3.37). Indeed, Tacitus ends his account of the good years of Tiberius by claiming, *Quae cuncta non quidem comi via, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur: nam*

dum superfuit, mansere... (*Ann.* 4.7). The immediate sequel to this sentence depicts the rise of Sejanus.

But before we move on to the contention between Drusus and Sejanus, mention should be made of an episode in Dio and his comments regarding it. According to Dio, in the year of his first consulship, 15 A.D., Drusus was earning a reputation for violent behavior. Having come to blows with a *hippeis epiphanes*, probably Sejanus although Dio does not make this explicit for reasons to be discussed below, Drusus earned the nickname Castor (57.14.9). The accepted explanation for the nickname is that Castor was the name of a celebrated gladiator, presumably the same as mentioned by Horace in *Epodes* 1.18.19. But as Scott has pointed out, Dio could not have assumed his reader's familiarity with such a reference. Nor could the chronological difference between the writing of Horace and the reign of Tiberius allow for it. Scott looks elsewhere for an explanation.

He claims that the reason Dio fails to mention the name of Sejanus in the context above is to emphasize Drusus' poor relationship with the equestrian order whose patron deities were the Dioscuri.⁹⁴ Scott also points out the tendency which we observed in the second chapter of this study for pairs of male members of the imperial household to be associated with the Dioscuri. Tiberius had dedicated the temple of Castor in his own name and that of Drusus, his brother. Likewise Drusus and Germanicus were honored as the Dioscuri in the provinces. But why should Drusus be nicknamed Castor, and not Pollux? I believe the answer is rather simple. Of the two Dioscuri, Castor was the human brother, Pollux the divine. If Drusus was Castor, Germanicus was Pollux, generously sharing his divine *charisma* with his adoptive brother.

⁹⁴ "Drusus, nicknamed 'Castor,'" *CP* 25 (1930) 155ff.

3. Sejanus

If we have given summary attention to Drusus, it is mainly because Drusus, although important in the scheme of things, has left little impression on the historical sources. Unlike the charismatic Germanicus, whose son and brother later became emperors, and the sinister Sejanus, the archetypical Judas of political maneuvering, Drusus was the son of an uncharismatic emperor by the daughter of a Roman knight, albeit an important one. Whether or not Drusus was murdered is a question which can never be answered, but his father's withdrawal from Rome, combined with his own increasing popularity and prestige could easily have provoked a maneuver from Sejanus, whom Tiberius considered his *adiutor*, but never his successor.

In the version recorded by Tacitus, the letter which Sejanus addresses to Tiberius in which he asks for the hand of Livilla opens with the following assertion: *benevolentia patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse, ut spes votaue sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures conferret* (Ann. 4. 39). He continued that he should be considered a worthy husband for Livilla, *et quoniam audiverit Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quaereretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria usurum. non enim exuere imposita munia: satis aestimare firmari domum adversum iniquas Agrippinae offensiones, idque liberorum causa*. Despite his lack of success at gaining Tiberius' approval at this time, which Tiberius rightly recognized would provoke Agrippina unnecessarily, the approach Sejanus used, allowing for the fact that Tacitus has recorded the matter as he found it, requires examination.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Whether the letters are genuine or not seems immaterial. Tacitus must have had some basis for this exchange. On the matter in general see Martin and Woodman ad loc.

First, Sejanus mentions his offices as having been won through the *benevolentia* of Augustus. We know little of Sejanus' early career, and should we know more, we might have a more balanced view of his meteoric rise to power. Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.1) does mention him as having been among the court of Gaius Caesar when he was still himself a young man (*prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus*). His first mention in Tacitus accompanies the unrest among the Pannonian troops. Along with armies from the capital was sent with Drusus, *simul praetorii praefectus, Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostenator* (*Ann.* 1.24). After his introduction, however, he fades into the background and the authority of his uncle Junius Blaesus, the commander of the legions, combined with that of the son of Tiberius, quelled the mutiny.

Tacitus never tells us, nor do Dio's excerptors (57.19), when Sejanus became his father's colleague in command of the praetorian guard. Hennig assumes from Tacitus' reference to his *auctoritas* with Tiberius that it is Tiberius who named him to this position, but Tiberius would have been especially careful in the early days of his reign not to disturb something as important as the praetorian guard.⁹⁶ While it is true that in his account of the actions of Tiberius after the death of Augustus (*Ann.* 1.7), Tacitus mentions only Sejanus' father as the head of the guard, this may be reluctance on his part to thrust Sejanus on the scene until he can be given a proper introduction. It seems fair to assume that Sejanus may well have been named as an assistant to his father by Augustus, not Tiberius.

⁹⁶ *L. Aelius Seianus* 19ff.

Nevertheless, Tiberius was responsible for assigning Seius Strabo to the prefecture of Egypt, thus leaving Sejanus in sole command of the praetorian guard.⁹⁷ We cannot be sure of the date of Strabo's prefecture, nor can we be certain of when Sejanus began to assemble the praetorian guard into one camp. Having won the approval of Divus Augustus and the encouragement of Tiberius, Sejanus set his sights higher. But how high?

After a fire damaged Pompey's theater in the year 22 A.D., the year before the death of Drusus, Tiberius' son and presumed heir, a statue was voted to Sejanus for his efforts to prevent greater catastrophe (*Ann.* 3.72). The response of the senatorial class might best be summed up by a quip from the outspoken Cremutius Cordus—*tunc vere theatrum perire* (*Sen. Cons. ad Marc.* 22). Amidst his rise to power, his daughter was betrothed to the son of Claudius (*Ann.* 3.29), a marriage which never took place, although the senatorial class bristled at the prospect. Drusus, moreover, felt so threatened by his increasing power, that according to Tacitus, *crebro querens incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium vocari. et quantum superesse, ut collega dicatur?* (*Ann.* 4.7). Tacitus also tells us that Sejanus wielded his power, *facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret* (*Ann.* 4.2). The description of Tacitus implies that Tiberius allowed (*sineret*) Sejanus to acquire influence, but did not actively encourage excessive honors to be given to him. It seems likely that Tiberius was

⁹⁷ Dio's epitomator Xiph. (57.19) lists this under 20 (A.D.) as part of a general description of Sejanus, entering his peak after the death of Germanicus. Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.2), who dates Sejanus' ascendancy with the death of Drusus in 23 B.C., presumably drew on the same source. It seems safe to say that the praetorian guard had been assembled into one camp with Sejanus as their sole commander by 20 A.D.

glad to have someone else worry about the weakness of the Senate for a change, someone who could never be a threat to his succession plans, or so he thought. He was wrong.

Thus, in the letter addressed to Tiberius, Sejanus paints himself as something of a second Agrippa, for that could be the only meaning of the reference to Augustus' search for a son-in-law from among the Roman knights. But unlike Agrippa's situation, as Sejanus needlessly points out to Tiberius, to rival Sejanus there were surviving members of Augustus' blood. In 23 B.C., when Augustus handed his signet over to Agrippa without explicitly naming Marcellus as his heir, the idea of the principate was relatively new. Augustus could hope that Marcellus would eventually take over his position, but he seems to have had no definitive ideas about succession at that time. He went so far as to render an account of the empire to the Senate, a move which Suetonius saw as indicating, *de reddenda re p bis cogitavit* (Aug. 28), the other occasion referring to the official *res publica reddenda* of 27 B.C. Presumably he learned his lesson, and it was this near-death experience which, after the death of Marcellus, convinced him to take Maecenas' advice that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa or kill him (Dio 54.6.5).

When viewed in such terms, then, it seems that the positions of Sejanus and Agrippa were radically different. Agrippa had produced children with Julia, whom Augustus immediately adopted. They were officially designated as his heirs, and Agrippa would have no reason to threaten his own children. Should Augustus die, Agrippa could take over until Gaius and Lucius were old enough. Thwarted in his master plan by Agrippa's death, Augustus forced Tiberius to take over this role, knowing

Tiberius would probably be eager for retirement when the time came. Tiberius obediently complied until Julia and her faction forced him to retire to Rhodes.⁹⁸

As for Sejanus, however, should he marry Livilla and claim to rule as regent, it could only be as the regent for the children of Livilla and Drusus, that is, for Tiberius Gemellus. This would bypass the plan to which Tiberius had already resigned himself, namely, to pass succession on through the children of Germanicus. Hennig sees this as Tiberius' design, claiming, "so hätte er schon von einer geradezu übermenschlichen Grossmut sein müssen, um auch nach dem Tode des Germanicus seinen eigenen Sohn und seine Enkel hinter dessen Kinder zurücksetzen. Es besteht kein Anlass, eine solche Grossmut bei Tiberius anzunehmen."⁹⁹ But as Levick states in her review of Hennig, "it would have been superhuman to put Drusus and his offspring after Nero and Drusus Caesars (but Tiberius *was* superhuman; not that he was more than mortal, but that more was expected of him than of other mortals; Tac. *Ann.* 3.53.3; 4.38.1)."¹⁰⁰

We shall not here attempt to uncover the truth about what took place in the years between Drusus' death and Sejanus' fall, but rather try to discern what role the charismatic image of Augustus played in all this, and how Tiberius reacted to ploys to use Augustus' image against him. It was this manipulation of the charisma of Augustus which ultimately assured the continuance of the Julio-Claudian line, despite the conflicts within the *domus Augusta*. It was this same manipulation of charisma which assured that even later emperors, those who had no claims to being Julio-Claudian, would secure their reigns through association with the first princeps.

⁹⁸ No one can ever say exactly why Tiberius left for Rhodes, but Gaius' premature election to consul and Julia's scornful infidelities seem the obvious cause. In general see Levick, "Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes in 6 B.C.," *Latomus* 31 (1972) 779-813.

⁹⁹ *L. Aelius Seianus* 69-70.

¹⁰⁰ *CR* 27 (1977) 225. Her italics.

After the death of Drusus, Tiberius personally appeared in a meeting of the Senate and commended the sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, to the Senate, saying, *erepto Druso preces ad vos converto disque et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque vicem explete* (Ann. 4.8). Tacitus then adds that Tiberius would have earned the admiration of all had he not, *ad vana et totiens inrisa revolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit* (Ann. 4.9). Assuming Tacitus was drawing on the *acta senatus* and these proceedings are accurate, we have no way of gauging Tiberius' sincerity except by his actions. They speak for themselves. Deeming Nero and Drusus as yet unable to shoulder the burden of the *moles imperii*, he turned to the only person upon whom he could rely as an *adiutor*—Sejanus.

The relationship between Tiberius and Sejanus is one of the greatest puzzles of Roman imperial history. It shall probably never be solved, but it seems reasonable to assume that their exchange was one giant chess match in which the knight was ultimately checkmated. Among the figures on the chessboard stood Agrippina and her children, as well as Livilla, the widow of Drusus and her surviving son, Tiberius Gemellus. The interplay between these characters may perhaps best be viewed as that of pawns, being moved about at will by Tiberius and Sejanus. Sejanus' ultimate goal has often been thought to be a regency for Tiberius Gemellus. But Sejanus was not Agrippa, and while regency over one's own son was one thing, regency over a stepson was entirely different.

Although the historians claim that Livilla and Sejanus were adulterously involved and plotted Drusus' death, the main source of this assertion, a letter from the disgraced wife of Sejanus, Apicata, written as her children were being put to death for the crimes of

their father, seems subject to doubt.¹⁰¹ Livilla, who stood to gain little from Drusus' death except perhaps freedom from a bad marriage, would have lost the binding tie in her son's hopes for succession. The fact that she and Sejanus joined forces later probably led to the rumors of adultery before Drusus' death. If they had been involved prior to Drusus' death it must have taken immense patience, for which neither was known, to bide their time for two years until 25 A.D., when Sejanus finally worked up the courage to ask for Livilla's hand in marriage.

Tiberius' refusal of such a marriage, based on the grounds that it would inflame Agrippina, demonstrates the tension between the two women brokering for succession for their children. In the same year, after the attack on her cousin Claudia Pulchra and after her claim to be the living effigy of Augustus to which Tiberius *admonuit non ideo laedi, quia non regnaret* (*Ann.* 4.52; cf. *Suet. Tib.* 53), Agrippina asked Tiberius to provide her with a husband. Tacitus relates, *sed Caesar, non ignarus quantum ex re publica peteretur, ne tamen offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso quamquam instantem reliquit* (*Ann.* 4.53). Agrippina, being impatient and insecure in her position, thus aggravated Tiberius who was already questioning whether Agrippina and her sons were really the best choice for succession. This private exchange echoes the insertion of the names of young Drusus and Nero into the vows for the safety of the emperor taken in the Senate at the beginning of that year (24 A.D.). Tiberius thought, *non debere talia praemia tribui nisi expertis et aetati provectis* (*Tib.* 54). He suspected Agrippina as responsible for the insertion (*Ann.* 4.17). Having worked so hard to preserve the Augustan principate, could he now hand it over to the descendants of Marc Antony?

¹⁰¹ On the legitimacy of Apicata's letter, see Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* 161.

If Agrippina had doubts and fears concerning Sejanus, the latter did everything in his power to instigate acts of rash behavior in the former. Whether there was ever a conspiracy or a party of Agrippina, so to speak, is highly doubtful.¹⁰² Rather, what took place was a series of moves and countermoves by which Tiberius' stormy relationship with his daughter-in-law was finally destroyed. Sejanus provoked Agrippina first, by claiming, among other things, that Tiberius was trying to kill her (*Ann.* 4.54, *Tib.* 53). Next Sejanus turned to Nero, the eldest son of Agrippina and Germanicus. According to Tacitus, the agents of Sejanus *insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta iuventa, plerumque tamen quid in praesentiarum conduce<re>t oblitum, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulatur, ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet* (*Ann.* 4.59).

With his mother and his brother having been driven to an increasing sense of insecurity about Tiberius' intentions, *atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratribus odia accendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat* (*Ann.* 4.60). How far Drusus was willing to go in betraying his family can never be known, but there was clearly division within the family. In the years between 27-29 A.D., increasing attacks were made on members of Agrippina's circle of friends, as well as incitements to make desperate bids for public support. The loss of Tacitus' narrative for this period and the fragmentary state of Dio's leave much open to debate. Nevertheless, they indicate that whatever Agrippina's intentions, she became an image of the persecution of the *domus Augusta*.

¹⁰² The theories are endless. The most thorough treatment, that of Rogers, "The conspiracy of Agrippina," *TAPA* 62 (1931) 141ff., posits "there was a determined plot by Agrippina's party to overthrow Tiberius and set upon the throne a representative of the Julian blood." Recent scholars have been more cautious. The political atmosphere at this time was surely no less complex than the account of it found in Tacitus.

The rumors that she would have fled to the Rhine armies or sought sanctuary at the statue of Augustus (Suet. *Tib.* 53, *Ann.* 4.48) inflamed the insecurities of Tiberius, who hated above all else that things he thought settled should be undone. Moreover, Sejanus was gaining Tiberius' trust, not least by saving his life in Sperlonga (*Ann.* 4.59; cf. *Tib.* 39, although Suetonius' account does not mention Sejanus). Nevertheless, the public support for the family of Germanicus against the machinations of Sejanus and likewise, the demonstration that Sejanus could never win over the plebs (more on which see below), was made manifest when Tiberius sent his letter to the Senate, following the precedent set by Augustus' treatment of the two Julias and Agrippa Postumus, in which he complained about the vices of his daughter-in-law and grandson and awaited action by the Senate.

It was believed that Tiberius had sent the letter much earlier, but that it had been suppressed by Livia until her death (*Ann.* 5.3). Not only does this contradict everything Tacitus has led us to believe regarding the relationship between Agrippina and Livia up to this point, it also overestimates Livia's power. Nevertheless, that was the popular impression (*credidit vulgus*). Whatever *discordia* may have haunted the imperial household both privately and before the Senate, as far as public appearance was concerned, Concordia continued to reign over the *domus Augusta*.

The Senate, taken unawares, hesitated. Perhaps the ambiguity of Tiberius' letter allowed them too. They may have been waiting to see whether or not the *charisma* of Augustus was still viable. The reaction of the *populus* made the point loud and clear. While the Senate was debating the issue, *simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis gerens circumssistit curiam faustisque in Caesarem om<i>nibus falsas letteras et principe*

invito exitium domui eius intendi clamat (Ann. 5.4). Not only was there public demonstration in favor of Agrippina and Nero, but also an unwillingness to believe Tiberius would act against them. It may have been this public outcry which later influenced Tiberius to take decisive action against Sejanus. Agrippina and Nero were too dangerous to be allowed to remain in Rome. Drusus had proven cruel and calculating, turning traitor on his own family. But Caligula remained, young and impressionable, and for whatever reasons, steadfastly loyal to his grandfather.

With Agrippina and Nero gone, Tiberius continued to test the extent to which Sejanus could be used for his own ends. In 30 A.D., with Agrippina and Nero in exile yet still living, Tiberius named Sejanus as his colleague in the consulship for the following year. Previously this honor had been awarded to Germanicus and Drusus, and in all likelihood Sejanus saw it as designation of succession. He took the bait and became arrogant in his power. That arrogance bred contempt and most importantly, a fatal lack of caution. Macro was on the move, and the succession of Caligula was assured, not only by Tiberius' intentions, but by the interests of the new praetorian prefect. For in assuming his consulship and receiving senatorial rank, Sejanus would have had to give up control of the praetorian prefecture. This may have been Tiberius' plan all along. After Tiberius lay down his own consulship in May, forcing Sejanus to do the same, Sejanus may have had proconsular *imperium*, but little else.

The *coup de grâce* was to come with Sejanus' expectation of the tribunician power, seen as the designation not only of succession, but of collegial near-equality. This expectation was met with the *verbosa et grandis epistula a Capreis* which revealed his damnation. Tiberius gave Macro explicit instructions to assemble the Senate at the

temple of Apollo on the Palatine, where the *imagines* of Augustus, Germanicus, Drusus, and the other deceased members of the imperial household were proudly displayed.

More importantly, the meeting place was directly adjacent to the imperial *domus*, where Germanicus' son Drusus was being held in custody, and from where he could be released if necessary and used by Macro to rally the people against Sejanus. There was no need.

The Senate was quick to react, the people even more so. The case of Sejanus' overnight reversal of fortune inspired Juvenal in his tenth satire to write:

*iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Sejanus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae. (61-64)*

*sed quid
turba Remi? sequitur fortunam ut semper et odit
damnatos. idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secunda senatus
principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum. (72-77)*

Which leads to the question, could Sejanus have been hailed Augustus?

Sejanus may have had statues erected of himself, he may have wheedled his way into the vows taken in the name of the emperor, he may have controlled the actions of the Senate, but had he won the hearts of the people? The only coins which make mention of Sejanus come from the Spanish city of Bilbilis, coins minted in the year of his consulship and hastily recalled after his fall (Figure 5.1).¹⁰³ Aside from saving the theater of Pompey, we know of no other acts of public munificence by Sejanus, a stark contrast to the benefits bestowed on Rome by the building programs of Agrippa.

¹⁰³ *RPC* 399. The coin was an aes featuring the legend TI CAESAR AVGVSTI F with a laureate head opposite AVG(V) BILBILIS TI CÆSARE V L ÆLIO SEIANO accompanied by a laurel wreath containing the legend COS.

A curious inscription (*CIL* 6.10213/*ILS* 6044/EJ 53) found in Rome indicates that upon the election of Sejanus as consul, an election dubbed as *inprobae comitiae* (sic) by the inscription, some sort of demonstration was held on the Aventine. The fragmentary nature of the inscription, as well as its mysterious dedicator, who identifies himself only as *inutilis baculi comes*, have left scholars scratching their heads. Some have gone so far as to claim Tiberius as the dedicator.¹⁰⁴

At any rate, the inscription leads us to believe that in order to generate popular support for his unpopular election to the consulship, Sejanus moved the declarations of the electoral winners from the Campus Martius to the Aventine, well-known for its associations with the rights of the urban plebs.¹⁰⁵ The demonstration must not have been a success. There is no evidence that the people ever rallied to Sejanus' side after his downfall in the way they had done so for Agrippina and Nero. He had no *charisma*. As Yavetz states, "When Tiberius decided to waste him, and nobody knows what turned him on against his close friend and partner, he had no doubt that the urban plebs was never attached to Sejanus, the notorious enemy of the Germanicus-clan."¹⁰⁶

Moreover, Sejanus failed to rouse the support of the imperial armies, those armies which, according to the historians, would have made Germanicus emperor upon the death of Augustus. Tiberius rewarded the Syrian army as having been the only legions not to have exhibited a portrait of Sejanus among their standards (Suet. *Tib.* 48). And yet, although the legates in charge of the armies of Germany and Gaul were later revealed to have been supporters of Sejanus, they failed to support him and in doing so, outlived him,

¹⁰⁴ Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* 119ff.

¹⁰⁵ Syme, "Sejanus on the Aventine," *Hermes* 84 (1956) 257-266=*RP* I 305ff., reinforced by Yavetz, "Sejanus and the plebs. A note," *Chiron* 28 (1998) 187-191.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 190. See also idem, *Plebs and Princeps* 112-113.

as did many others.¹⁰⁷ If Sejanus had been planning to use these armies against Rome, he was thwarted by the emperor. But these were the same legions which repeatedly demonstrated loyalty to Agrippina and her sons. If their commanders were obliged to Sejanus, their soldiers were loyal to the descendants of Augustus.¹⁰⁸

The downfall of the other members of his family seems not to have affected Caligula's public image, as he was kept out of the public eye until shortly before the fall of Sejanus. At that time, Tiberius summoned him to Capri to take up the *toga virilis* at the late age of 19, granted him a priesthood, and designated him as successor. Sejanus could not have hoped to serve as regent to Caligula. As for the young Gemellus, Tiberius had no illusions that he would be destroyed by Caligula. Whatever the case may be, Tacitus, reviewing the end of Tiberius' life, years after the downfall of Sejanus, says regarding Caligula's vices:

Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda re publica, primum inter nepotes; quorum Druso genitus sanguine et caritate propior, sed nondum pubertatem ingressus, Germanici filio robur iuventae, vulgi studia, eaque apud avum odii causa. etiam de Claudio agitanti, quod is composita aetate, bonarum artium cupiens erat, imminuta mens eius obstitit. sin extra domum successor quaereretur, ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent, metuebat. (Ann. 6.46)

Two factors are important in understanding Tiberius' decision. First, he was displeased with the popular favor shown Caligula. Tiberius had destroyed Agrippina and Nero, or at least allowed them to be destroyed, lest the principate become a monarchy in which the will of the people controlled the will of the Senate. On the other hand, he was afraid that if he chose someone outside of the *domus Augusta*, everything that he and

¹⁰⁷ On the survival of Sejanus' supporters, see Bird, "L. Aelius Sejanus and his political significance," *Latomus* 28 (1969) 93ff.

¹⁰⁸ For the dedications made to the imperial household, especially in the provinces, after the fall of Sejanus see Ando, *Imperial Ideology* 171.

Augustus had sacrificed would come to naught. Rome would be plunged into civil war yet again. Thus, however much Tiberius might have regretted thrusting Caligula the viper upon the empire, he saw that there was no other choice.

Later tradition reports that Tiberius was spurred to move against Sejanus by a letter from Antonia claiming that Sejanus had designs on Caligula.¹⁰⁹ This letter may or may not have been sent to Tiberius. He may or may not have received it. But I highly doubt that this alone was responsible for Tiberius' decision to remove Sejanus.

Suetonius reports that Tiberius wrote in his own hand that he had destroyed Sejanus because he found him to be plotting against the children of Germanicus (*Tib.* 61). This has often been scorned due to Tiberius' failure to rehabilitate Agrippina and Drusus after Sejanus' fall. Nero had already been killed, probably at the instigation of Sejanus—a move which may have hastened Tiberius in his plan to unseat the powerful *adiutor*. Agrippina spitefully committed suicide, perhaps intentionally dying on the anniversary of Sejanus' downfall. Tiberius celebrated his own *clementia* for not having her thrown from the Gemonian steps (*Tib.* 53; *Ann.* 6.25). He slandered her name and accused her of adultery with Asinius Gallus.¹¹⁰ Drusus raged madly in his prison on the Palatine, until he finally starved to death (*Tib.* 54). Tiberius had the last ravings of the dying prince read aloud in the Senate, presumably to validate his decision to eliminate from the possibility of succession a young man who was a threat not only to his mother and brother, but to Rome as well (*Ann.* 6.23-24). These ravings may even have included a

¹⁰⁹ Our only source for this is Josephus *AJ* 18.81ff. Dio mentions the letter as having been written but never sent (65.14). Dio's account falls not in his history of the reign of Tiberius, but in an anecdote concerning the mistress of Vespasian, who had been Antonia's freedwoman. This letter has caused much debate among scholars. Nicols, "Antonia and Sejanus," *Historia* 24 (1975) 48-58, examines such views and argues rather persuasively that the story comes from Claudian and Flavian sources.

¹¹⁰ Shotter, "Tiberius and Asinius Gallus," *Historia* 20 (1971) 443-457, posits that Agrippina's connections to Gallus may have led her to an alliance with Sejanus. This seems a little far fetched to me, even if Gallus was later accused of being closely involved with the circle of Sejanus.

confession of the hatred he bore Agrippina and Nero, which Tiberius must have thought would further exonerate him. History proved him wrong.

As Schrömbges concludes, if Tiberius up to this point had fought valiantly to prevent the inevitable:

Die Neuorientierung der tiberischen Repräsentation nach 31 n. Chr. ist somit nicht nur Produkt eines sich zunehmend monarchischer gebenden römischen Staatsdenkens, sondern vor allem auch die kaiserliche Reaktion auf eine historische Situation, in der die überkommene augusteische Civi-Repräsentation des Princeps mit der Nachfolgepolitik für einen Kronprinzen verbunden werden musste, die die Fortführung eben jener Selbstdarstellung nicht mehr erlaubte.¹¹¹

Although Tiberius had prevented civil war, he had failed to prevent monarchy.

We have seen in previous chapters the revival of Augustan imagery which took place in the years following the downfall of Sejanus, most significantly the image of *Concordia Augusta*. Tiberius probably thought this the best way to promote Caligula without inflating his ego. Likewise, the *cursus honorum* of Caligula followed that of Tiberius himself, with Caligula accepting the quaestorship in 33 A.D., having received the quinquennial remission granted to his brothers. In regards to the young man's career, Tiberius also gave the Senate explicit instructions, μήτε πολλαῖς μήτ' ἀκαίροις τιμαῖς αὐτόν, μη καὶ ἐξοκείλη ποι, ἐπαίρη (Dio 58.23.1). In 35 (Dio 58.25.2), or 33 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.20) Tiberius made a rare trip to the mainland for the wedding of Caligula to the daughter of M. Silanus. Gemellus, by contrast, did not even take the *toga virilis* until the accession of Caligula, although he could have done so at least three years prior.

With the matter settled, at least as far as Tiberius was concerned, one other item deserves mention in our discussion of succession policy. In 31 A.D., Tacitus reports that

¹¹¹ *Tiberius und die Res Publica Romana* 190.

a young man claiming to be Drusus was traveling around the east and garnering support (*Ann.* 5.10). The consular historian asserts, *per dolumque comitantibus adliciebantur ignari fama nominis et promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira. quippe <e>lapsus custodiae pergere ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Suriam invasurum fingeant simul credebantque*. Tacitus states that the man was captured by Poppaeus Sabinus and identified himself as the son of Marcus Silanus, claiming that *multis sectatorum dilapsis ascendisse navem tamquam Italiam peteret*. Sabinus made a report to Tiberius on the matter, and Tacitus could discern nothing else of the affair beyond that. Dio, reporting the affair even more briefly, relates it in the year 34 A.D. and tells us that the young man was arrested and taken to Tiberius (58.25.1). He does not name Sabinus, nor does he indicate that the false Drusus was headed for Italy.

Instead of trying to fashion elaborate hypotheses that the false Drusus was part of a plot by Sejanus and Claudius (of all people), to overthrow Tiberius¹¹², or that the imposter was unleashed by Sejanus to increase Tiberius' sense of insecurity and prompt action against the house of Agrippina¹¹³, we should rather see this as a counterpart to the false Agrippa. The same thing would happen again with the false Nero. Such plots always seem to originate in the east, where the conception of the principate, as we have observed, was radically different from that of Rome. The brevity of the accounts of both Tacitus and Dio indicate that the incident caused little concern in a regime that had already dealt with a similar matter in 16 A.D. Moreover, it indicates that outside of Rome, the view still held firm that only a prince of the *domus Augusta* could claim to be Tiberius' successor.

¹¹² Bernecker, *Zur Tiberius-Überlieferung* 43ff. She also posits the young man might be the illegitimate son of the younger Julia which Augustus had ordered to be exposed.

¹¹³ Tuplin, "The false Drusus of A.D. 31 and the fall of Sejanus," *Latomus* 46 (1987) 781ff.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

According to Suetonius, on being informed of his unpopularity, Tiberius was accustomed to respond, “*oderint, dum probent*” (*Tib.* 59). This line, drawn from Accius’ *Atreus*, was restored to its original by Caligula, who would say, “*oderint, dum metuant*” (*Cal.* 30).¹ The difference may only be one word, but reflects a great deal about the reigns of the two leaders. Tiberius was able to rule for twenty-three years because, while he never sought to be popular, he made sure that his actions were respected. Caligula, on the other hand, lasted only four because he thought that as long as people feared him, he could carry on as he pleased.

And yet Caligula had made extreme efforts at self-promotion. The charisma of his great-grandfather Augustus and that of his father Germanicus ensured the warm reception which Caligula received upon his accession. As Suetonius reports it, *Sic imperium adeptus, populum Romanum, vel dicam hominum genus, voti compotem fecit, exoptatissimus princeps maximae parti provincialium ac militum* (*Cal.* 13). This contrasts strongly with the atmosphere surrounding Tiberius’ accession which we described in the introduction to this study. Caligula’s subsequent behavior proved that charisma can be directed towards negative ends just as easily as towards positive reform.

Although at first Caligula expressed an affiliation with his grandfather Tiberius, even in the funeral speech which he gave for his deceased predecessor, at least according to Dio (59.3.8), the new emperor was careful not so much to praise Tiberius as to remind the people of Augustus and Germanicus. But after his power seemed secure, not only did he disassociate himself from the unpopular Tiberius, Caligula even tried to eclipse the

¹ *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* 203.

image of his divine ancestor Augustus and his charismatic father Germanicus and courted popularity through his own person. Suetonius attests, *Incendebat et ipse studia hominum omni genere popularitatis* (*Cal.* 15). As if his ancestry were not sufficiently illustrious, he shamelessly claimed that his mother Agrippina the Elder was the product of incest between Augustus and Julia (*Cal.* 23). He forbade the annual celebrations of Augustus' victories at Actium and Sicily. He even went so far as to build a bridge over the temple of Divine Augustus to join his palace to the Capitol (*Cal.* 22). Thus, while the unpopular Tiberius took such great pains to build the temple to his adoptive father, the self-promoting Caligula selfishly covered up the cult center for his own great-grandfather.

It then seems all the more remarkable when, after the assassination of Caligula, the army looked not to a charismatic figure outside the *domus Augusta*, but rather, to the sole remaining adult male of that house—Claudius. Clearly the four years in which Caligula had labored to replace the divine Augustus with his own divine self had not made as great an impact upon Roman society as the twenty-three years in which Tiberius had worked so hard to preserve the charisma of Augustus. Indeed, Claudius, the least Julian of the Julio-Claudian emperors, felt compelled to emphasize his minimal amount of Augustan blood by naming his daughter Octavia. Perhaps if he had shown sense enough to preserve the name of his son as Germanicus instead of changing it to Britannicus the boy may have fared better against his cousin Nero, who could advertise direct descent from Divus Augustus.²

Even after the overthrow of Nero and the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, claimants to the imperial throne made overt attempts to identify themselves with the

² According to Dio 60.12.5, the boy's given name was Claudius Tiberius Germanicus, but was later changed to Britannicus.

Augustan program. Suetonius (*Vesp.* 23.4) reports that the omens which marked the death of Vespasian included the sudden opening of the mausoleum of Augustus, which the dying emperor attributed to a descendent of Augustus, Junia Calvina, and a comet, which he with equal modesty explained as related to the king of the Parthians who had long hair like a comet. The founder of the Flavian dynasty may have been able to laugh in the face of death by declaring, “*Vae, puto deus fio*,” but he knew full well how important the precedent set by Augustus was and would continue to be in validating the position of the princeps.³

Perhaps the best manifestation of this endurance of Augustus as the symbol of the principate is the fact that subsequent emperors, down to the Severan dynasty and perhaps beyond, continued to use the image of Augustus as the imperial seal.⁴ Likewise Augustan values repeat themselves on the coins of his successors. This may, of course, have been due in part to Augustus’ conscious attempt to integrate the Republic into his new world order. But it was surely also due in large part to the image of Augustus as the ideal princeps which had been so carefully preserved and promoted by his successor.

Throughout this study we have endeavored to show the importance of Augustus in the reign of Tiberius, and how the *auctoritas* of Augustus allowed his successors to continue his work. The image of Augustus, not Julius Caesar, as the ideal princeps can be seen in the titles of the members of the imperial household. The title of Augustus was reserved solely for the ruling emperor, while the *cognomen* Caesar was allocated to the junior members of the *domus Augusta*. Under the tetrarchy the chief leaders were called *Augusti*, their seconds, *Caesares*.

³ On Flavian incorporation of Julio-Claudian ideology, see Ando, *Imperial Ideology* 34ff.

⁴ The single exception is Galba. The use at least down to the time of Dio’s writing is attested by that author (51.3.7). See Instinsky, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus* 39ff.

It was this routinization of Augustan charisma which allowed the establishment of a new institution. Caesar had aimed to be *dictator perpetuus*, perhaps even *rex*—both titles which instilled fear of tyranny in the Roman mind. But Augustus had avoided any specific title, consolidating his power through Republican institutions which seemed intrinsically democratic. This position became an amalgam of different titles, to the extent that each one had its own singular importance. An emperor was *imperator* to the soldiers, *princeps* to the magistrates, *pater patriae* to the plebs. But most importantly, he was Augustus.

It was this title that Tiberius reluctantly used to conduct business with foreign powers. It was this title which Tiberius employed in official documents and on coins. And it was this title which designated its holder as possessing whatever other powers he might need under whatever Republican titles. Thus, only by assuming the *statu* of Augustus by virtue of a depersonalized form of charisma could an uncharismatic emperor such as Tiberius maintain power. Moreover, it was necessary, as we have argued, for the stability of this new position, that it be assumed by an uncharismatic figure.

We have endeavored to demonstrate that the immediate succession of another charismatic figure to the position left vacant by the death of Augustus would have caused a radical change in Augustus' program. We have also examined the means through which Tiberius promoted the image of his charismatic predecessor in disregard of his own. Finally, we have demonstrated that Tiberius continued the policies of Augustus in such an obvious manner that he presented the image that Augustus was ruling from beyond the grave as the new Divus Augustus.

In examining the development of the imperial cult, we have shown that Tiberius was not merely relying on the precedent set by Augustus' deification of Julius Caesar. Rather, Tiberius took it to the next level by ensuring the promotion of the cult and even by practicing cult worship of Augustus in private. Likewise, Tiberius celebrated the values which Augustus had used to bestow charisma upon the *domus Augusta*, most especially Concordia. In honoring the cult of Augustus as well as depersonalizing his charisma and allocating it to the *domus Augusta*, Tiberius provided for one of the key steps in Weber's scheme for the routinization of charisma.⁵

This two-fold system of promoting the image of Augustus while transferring his depersonalized charisma to the *domus Augusta* can also be witnessed in visual art, coinage, and official decrees from the reign of Tiberius. In tandem with his aversion to allowing statues of himself to be erected, Tiberius also promoted statue groups which featured Augustus as the *paterfamilias* of the *domus Augusta*. In decorative art as well we have examined how the iconography of the Boscoreale Cups and the Gemma Augustea portrays Tiberius as the agent of Augustan Victoria. This iconography was reinvented after Tiberius' succession on the Sword of Tiberius and the Paris Camée, transferring Augustus from the mortal realm to the divine. In coins as well, Augustan virtues were celebrated with *moderatio*. Finally, the language of the documents which have preserved the *senatus consulta* deriving from the transactions of the Senate upon the death of Germanicus echo these same themes.

Thus, the image of Augustus was consciously propagated by his successor, who realized the importance of his predecessor's depersonalized charisma. Avoiding self-promotion to an extreme degree, Tiberius presented an image of a unified *domus*

⁵ *Economy and Society* II.1136.

Augusta. At the same time, however, he was careful to preserve the blessings of Augustan *pax* and the stability which Augustus had brought about after the civil wars. In doing so, Tiberius repeatedly explained his actions as following the precedent set by Augustus. In such a way, not only did he preserve the charisma of Augustus associated with his *imago*, but his *mores* as well.

We have examined the strategic foreign policy by which Tiberius was able to consolidate the conquests he had made as a general under Augustus. In attributing to his predecessor his policy of non-expansionism, Tiberius was able to win support for a measure he knew to be necessary and yet unpopular. Nevertheless, this did not stop Tiberius from celebrating Augustan Victory when Germanicus and Drusus avenged the embarrassing rebellions which took place in the later years of Augustus. Tiberius was also careful to avoid giving nobles outside the imperial household a chance to challenge the new dynasty, as well as downplaying his own success as a general under Augustus.

In that same document which included Augustus' policy for containing the empire within its current boundaries were instructions for holding the praetorian elections of that year. Although the nature of the policy cannot be untangled from the language of our sources, it does seem clear that the actions of Tiberius appropriated Augustan charisma for the designations of magistrates in that year. Tiberius also continued the use of voting centuries named in honor of the deceased princes of the Julio-Claudian household, conferring charismatic power upon the elections.

In assuring stability throughout the Roman empire, Tiberius concerned himself with providing for the basic needs of the people. However, in doing so, Tiberius never attempted to curry favor with the plebs. He maintained a distance which earned him their

contempt. And yet as the quote from Suetonius above mentions, while they may have hated him so much as to shout “*Tiberium in Tiberim!*” (Suet. *Tib.* 75), upon his death, they could not complain about the overall state of affairs.

The relationship between Tiberius and the senatorial class, however, was even more problematic. Bearing the responsibility for introducing the evil of *maiestas* into Roman political culture, Tiberius struggled to defend the image of his predecessor without bringing odium upon himself. In this much he failed, and this precedent set by Augustus, namely the association of the *maiestas* of the state with the *maiestas* of the emperor, was one which preserved the charisma of Augustus, but destroyed the reputation of Tiberius. For it was under Tiberius, who as we observed, dismissed many of the cases brought before him, that the charge of *maiestas* came to be regarded as a means of offense as well as self-defense.

As a result of the battles fought in the senatorial court regarding the images of Augustus and members of the *domus Augusta*, the last years of Tiberius were tainted with blood. The struggle to determine whether the next emperor would be more Julian or Claudian claimed many victims. As Tiberius, perhaps against his better judgment, followed the succession plan seemingly laid out by Augustus, he was compelled to promote Germanicus and his line. When his own son died, he was left to battle Agrippina, who asked for too much too soon and lost everything. The extreme ambition of Agrippina to thrust her sons into the spotlight made it all too easy for Sejanus to rouse Tiberius against her. In the end, however, the prefect went too far himself, and became a victim of his own excessive aspirations.

In the end, Caligula and his cousin Tiberius Gemellus remained. Neither one had any political experience, but each had charismatic Augustan blood. Caligula could boast of Germanicus, the great-nephew of Augustus as his father, and Agrippina, the granddaughter of Augustus as his mother. Although the poor Gemellus had the uncharismatic Tiberius for a grandfather, he did have Germanicus' sister for a mother. In the end, Caligula won, but perhaps more by virtue of his age and cunning than anything else. For Caligula, as we witnessed above, knew how to play upon his divine ancestry.

The Augustan system was thus stabilized to a great extent after the death of its founder. And while the depersonalized power of Augustus' charisma may have been channeled into the *domus Augusta* by Tiberius to provide for the succession of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, what assured the survival of the principate, even after the last of the Julio-Claudians fell from power, was the depersonalized charisma allocated to the office of the principate itself. As Weber points out, "For charismatic leadership, too, if it wants to transform itself into a perennial institution, the first basic problem is that of finding a successor to the prophet, hero, teacher, or party leader. This problem inescapably channels charisma into the direction of legal regulation and tradition."⁶

It is precisely, we have argued, because Tiberius was so uncharismatic, that he identified the charisma of Augustus with the charisma of the office which he himself held. Like the successors of Christ, being unable to compare themselves to their predecessor, they legitimated their authority through him. As Weber remarks, "But this indicates, of course, a step from autonomous leadership based on the power of personal

⁶ *Economy and Society* II.1123.

charisma toward legitimacy derived from the authority of a ‘source’.”⁷ This “source” of authority for subsequent Roman emperors was ultimately derived from the precedent set by Tiberius, who had established the principate through the divine sanction of Divus Augustus Pater.

⁷ Ibid. II.1124.

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Image Sources

2.1, 2.4-9, 2.11; 3.20, 3.21, 3.25, 3.27-33; 4.1: Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 1.

2.10; 3.13, 3.22, 3.24, 3.26, 3.34a-b, 3.35: Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. 1.

2.3: Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*.

2.12; 3.19, 3.23; 5.1: Burnett, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. 1.

3.1.a-c: Boschung, *Antike Kunstwerke aus dem Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 3.

3.2.a-c, 3.4.a-f, 3.7.a-c, 3.10: Polacco, *Il Volto di Tiberio*.

3.3.a-b, 3.8.a-f: Boschung, *Gens Augustea*.

3.3.c-d: Pollini, *The portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar*.

3.5.a-b: Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*.

3.6, 3.9.a, 3.12: Dido image database, Indiana University.

3.9.b: Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae*.

3.11, 3.18: Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*.

3.14: Personal collection of author, taken with permission of Vatican Museums.

3.15.a-d, 3.16: Kuttner, *Dynasty and empire in the age of Augustus: the case of the of the Boscoreale Cups*.

3.17: Web image taken from site of Das Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (<http://www.khm.at/homeE3.html>).

4.1.a-b: Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*.

Maps: Seager, *Tiberius*.

Family Tree of Augustus: Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*.

Images for Chapter 2



2.1 (*RIC* Tib. 74)
Temple of Vesta



2.2 (*RIC* Tib. 67)
Temple of Concordia
Augusta



2.3 (*Sydenham* 1321)
Coin of Octavian featuring Julius
Caesar as Dictator Perpetuus



2.4 (*RIC* Aug. 37a)
Sidus Iulium



2.5 (*RIC* Aug. 340)
Star of Ludi Saeculares



2.6 (*RIC* Aug. 415)
Augustus "deifying" Agrippa?



2.7 (*RIC* Tib. 32)
Tib. with reverse of Altar of
Roma and Augustus, Lugdunum

Images for Chapter 2



2.8 (*RIC* Tib. 30)
Pontifex Maximus
with seated Livia



2.9 (*RIC* Aug. 220)
Pontifex Maximus
with seated Livia



2.10 (*BMCRE* 75)
Seated Augustus

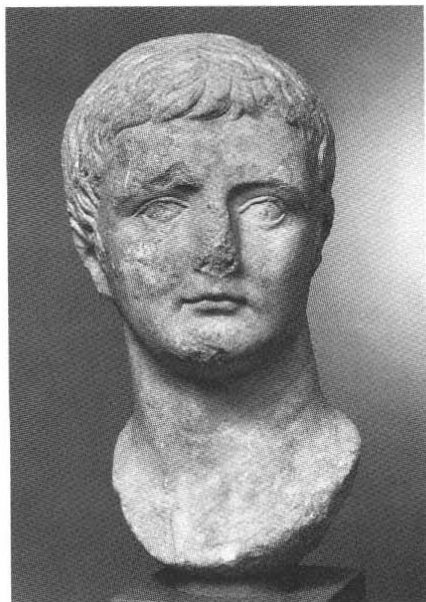


2.11 (*RIC* Tib. 56)
Augustus in chariot
drawn by elephants



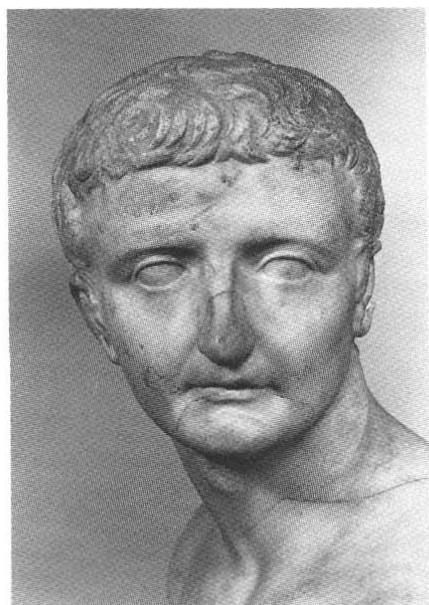
2.12 (*RPC* 219)
Temple of Augustus
Tarraco

Images for Chapter 3



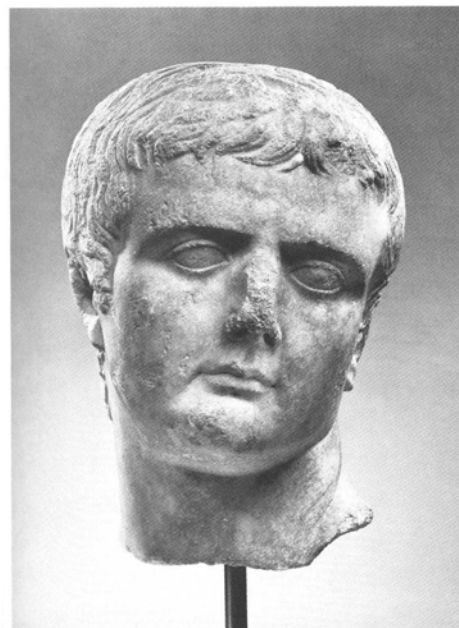
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Kopenhagen



4

Paris



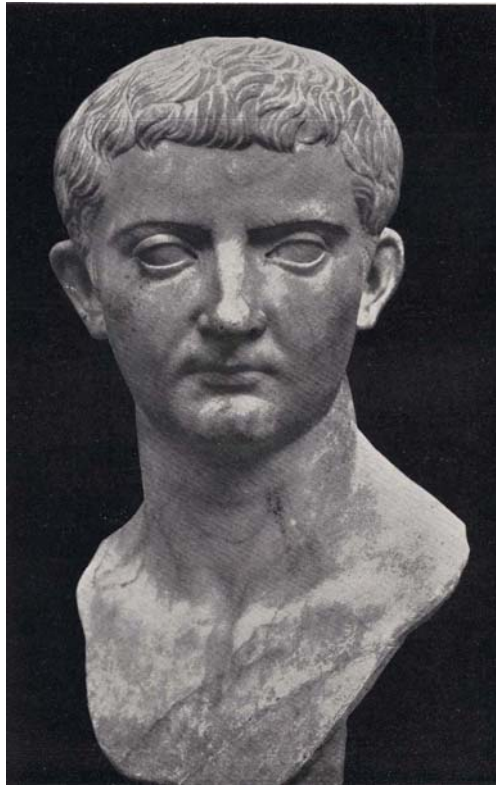
252

3.1.a Tiberius pre-adoption (Type Basel)
(Ny Carlsberg 625)

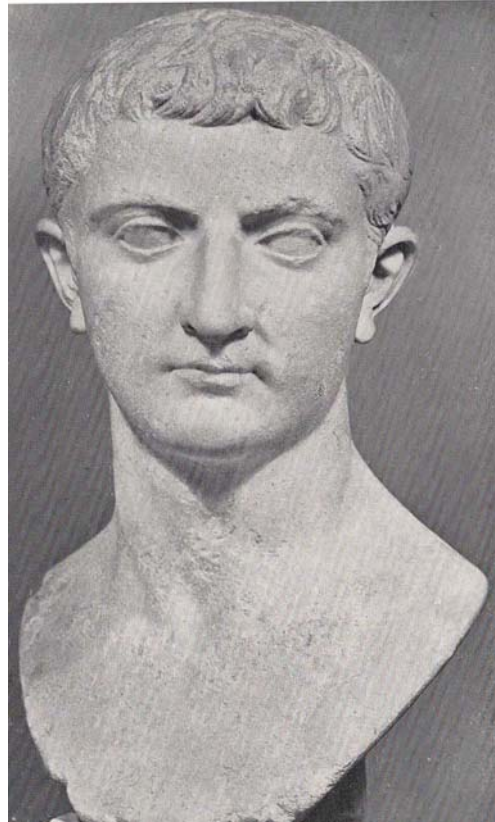
3.1.b Tiberius pre-adoption (Type Basel)
(Louvre, MA 1243)

3.1.c Tiberius pre-adoption (Type Basel)
(Basel, Sammlung Ludwig 252)

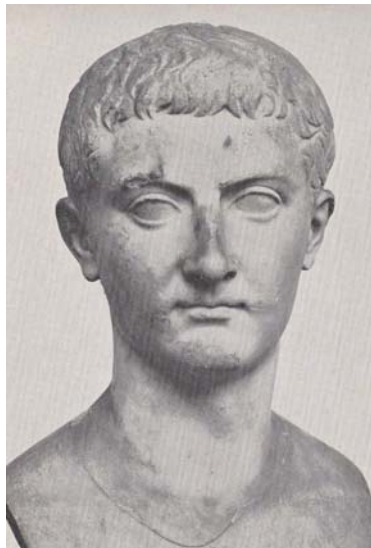
Images for Chapter 3



3.2.a Tiberius, Adoption Type
(Ny Carlsberg 623)

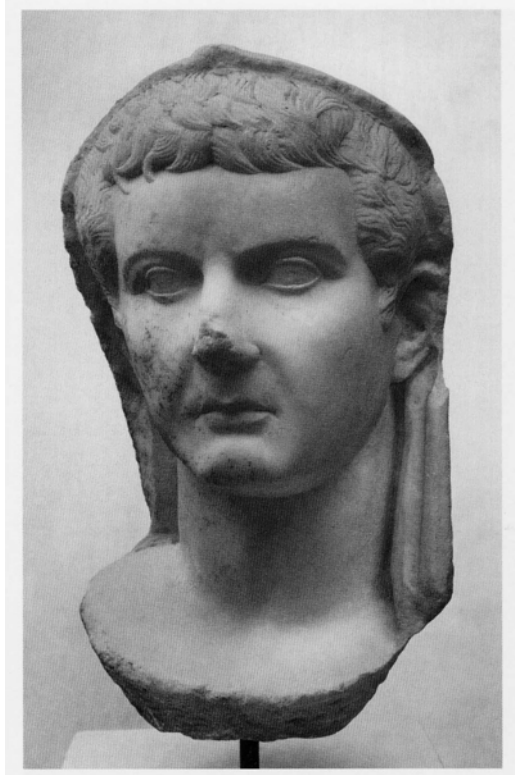


3.2.b Tiberius, Adoption Type
(Vatican, Sala dei busti 330)

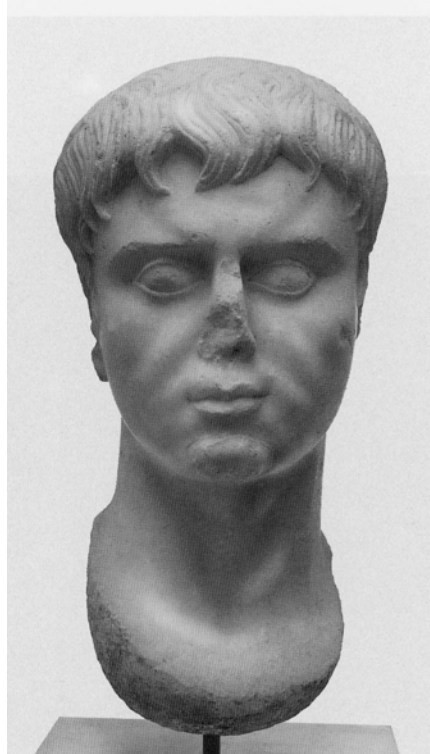


3.2.c. Tiberius, Adoption Type
(British Museum 1880)

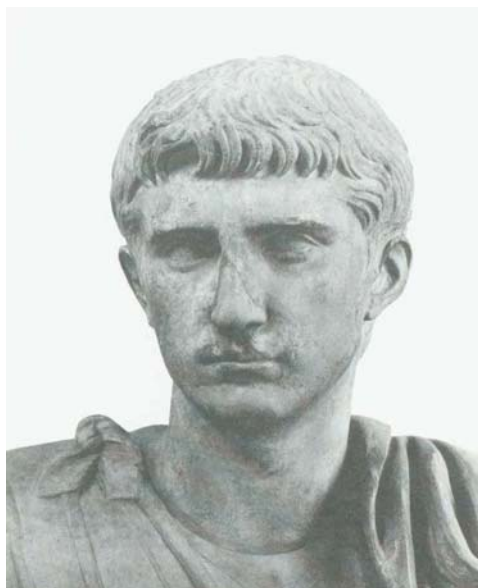
Images for Chapter 3



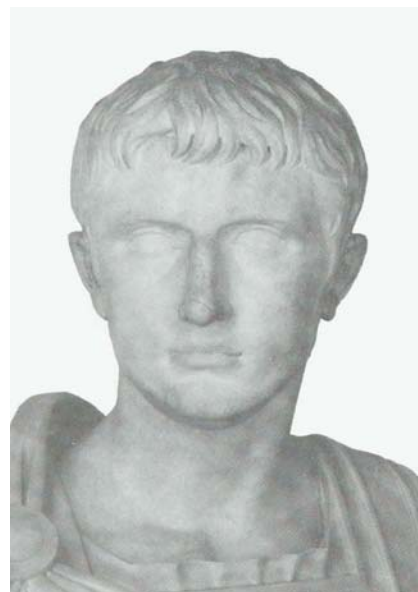
3.3.a Tiberius
(Dynastic Group at Gortyn)



3.3.b Gaius Caesar
(Dynastic Group at Gortyn)



3.3.c Gaius Caesar
(Berlin SK 343)

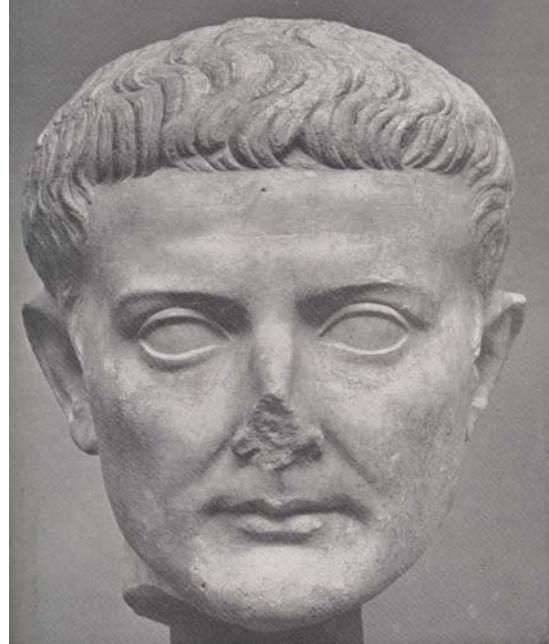


3.3.d Gaius Caesar
(Uffizi 1914.83)

Images for Chapter 3



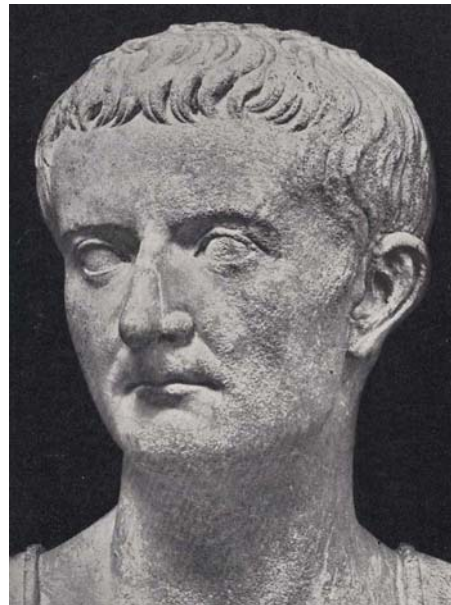
3.4.a Tiberius as Emperor
(Beziers)



3.4.b Tiberius as Emperor
(Ny Carlsberg 624)

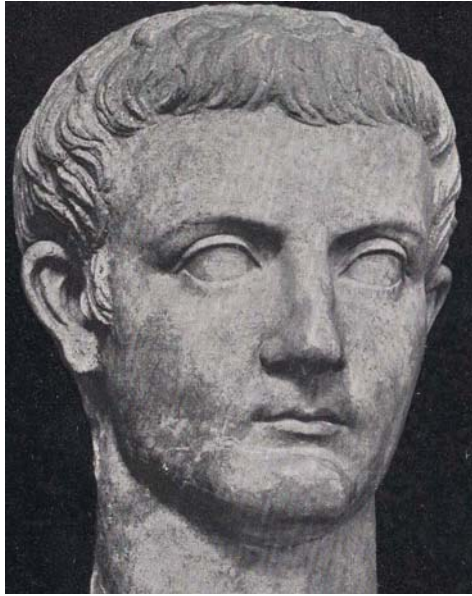


3.4.c Tiberius as Emperor
(Ny Carlsberg 538)



3.4.d Tiberius as Emperor
(Naples 6043)

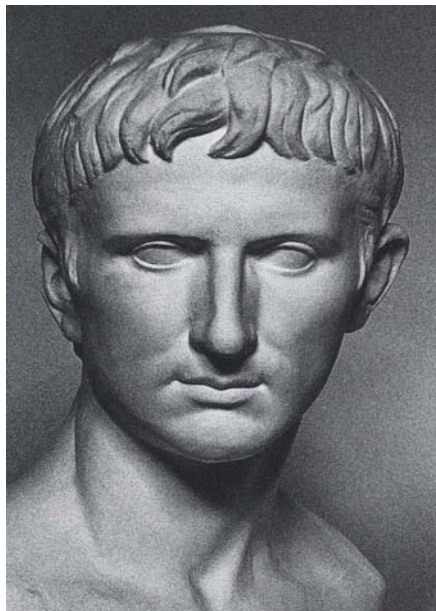
Images for Chapter 3



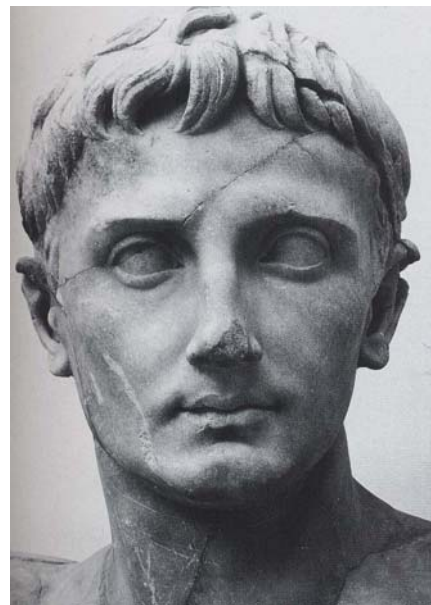
3.4.e Tiberius as Emperor
(Vatican, Chiaramonti 399)



3.4.f Tiberius as Emperor
(Vatican, Chiaramonti 494)

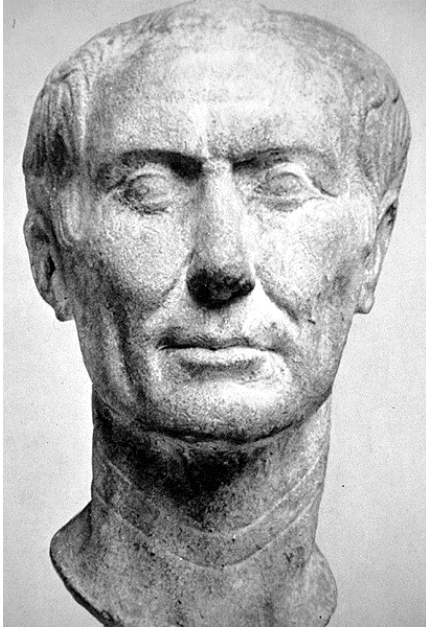


3.5.a Tiberian portrait of Augustus
(British Museum 1877)

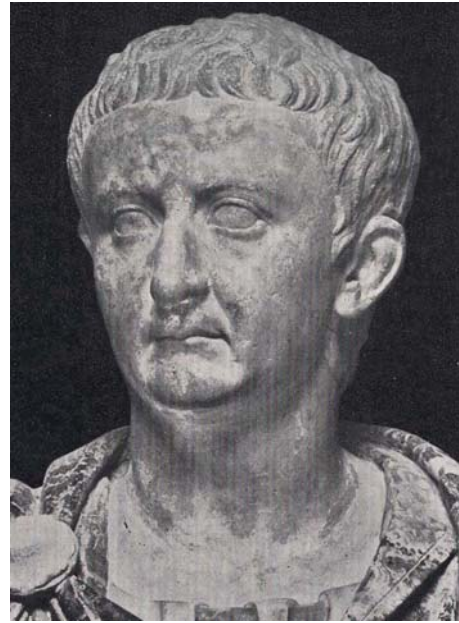


3.5.b Tiberian portrait of Augustus
(Thessaloniki)

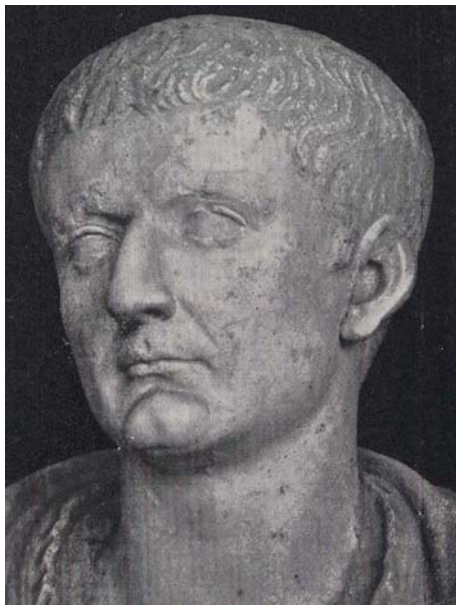
Images for Chapter 3



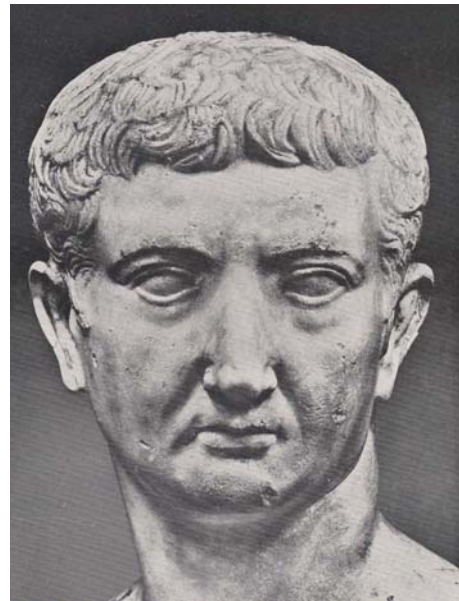
3.6 Julius Caesar
(Turin)



3.7.a Aging Tiberius
(Capitoline, Sala dei Imp. 4)

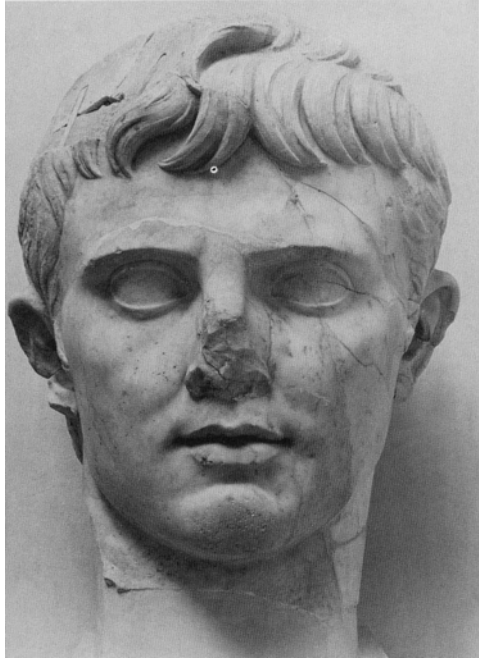


3.7.b Aging Tiberius
(Madrid)

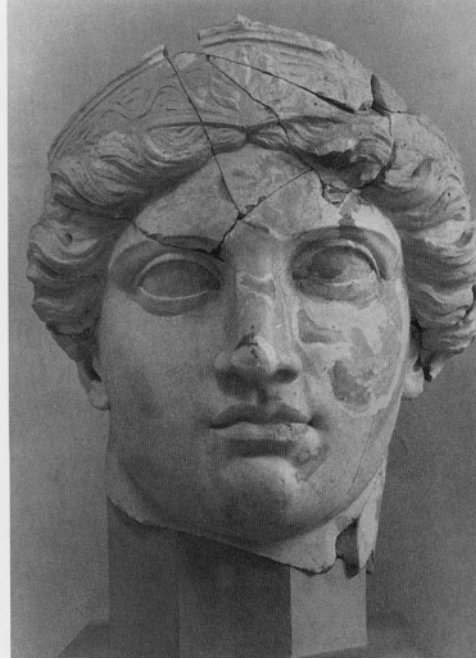


3.7.c Aging Tiberius
(Monaco 314)

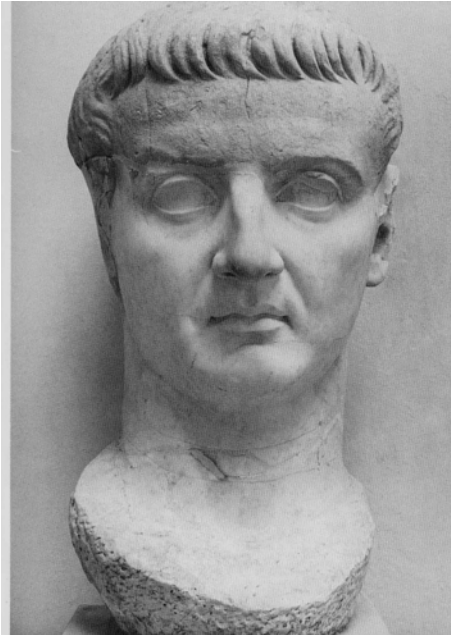
Images for Chapter 3



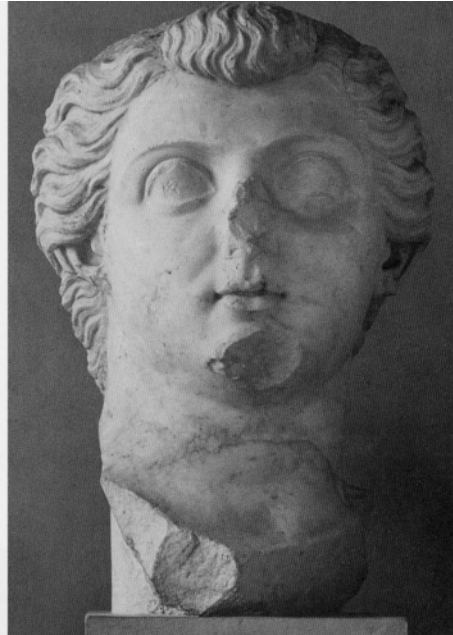
3.8.a Augustus
(Temple of Augustus and Roma, Leptis Magna)



3.8.b Roma

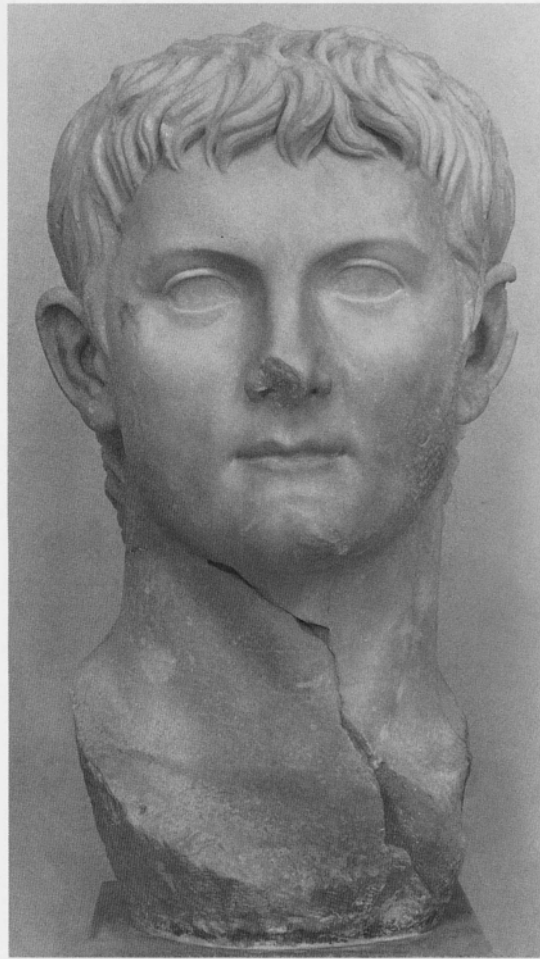


3.8.c Tiberius
(Temple of Augustus and Roma, Leptis Magna)

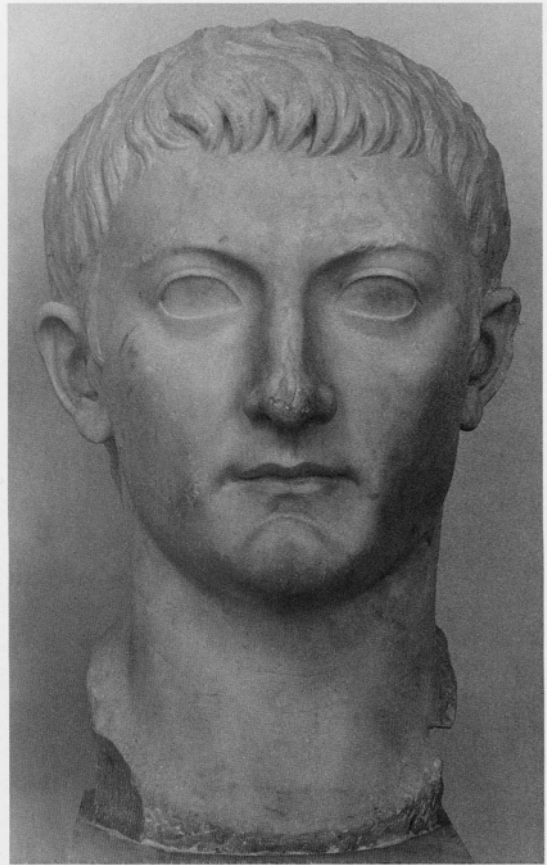


3.8.d Livia

Images for Chapter 3



1



2

3.8.e Germanicus

(Temple of Augustus and Roma, Leptis Magna)

3.8.f Drusus the Younger

Images for Chapter 3



3.9.a Augustus Panel of South Frieze
(Ara Pacis, Rome)



3.9.b Agrippa, Livia, Tiberius
(Ara Pacis)

Images for Chapter 3



3.10 Altar from the Vicus Sandalarius



3.11 Louvre Suovetaurilia



3.12 Augustus of Prima Porta

Images for Chapter 3



3.13 Coin of Augustus Cuirassed and Unshod
(*BMCRE* 609)



3.14 Close-up of Relief on Breastplate of
Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta



3.15.a Augustus receiving Triumphant Drusus in Camp
(Boscoreale Cup BR 1:2)



3.15.b Augustus receiving Victoriola, seated among Gods
(Boscoreale Cup BR 1:1)

Images for Chapter 3

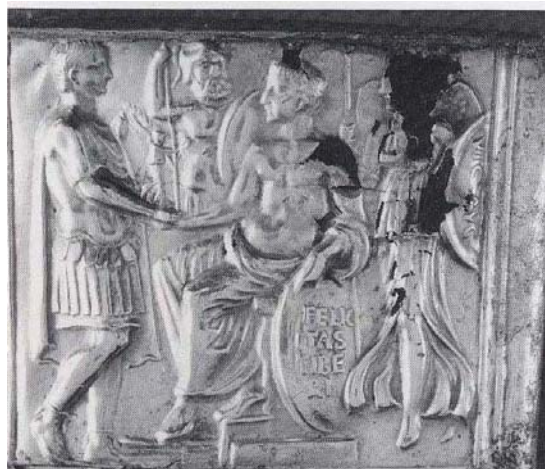


3.15.c Tiberius (head missing) preparing for sacrifice
(Boscoreal Cup BR 2:1)



3.15.d Tiberius as Triumphator with Servus Publicus
(Boscoreale Cup BR 2:2)

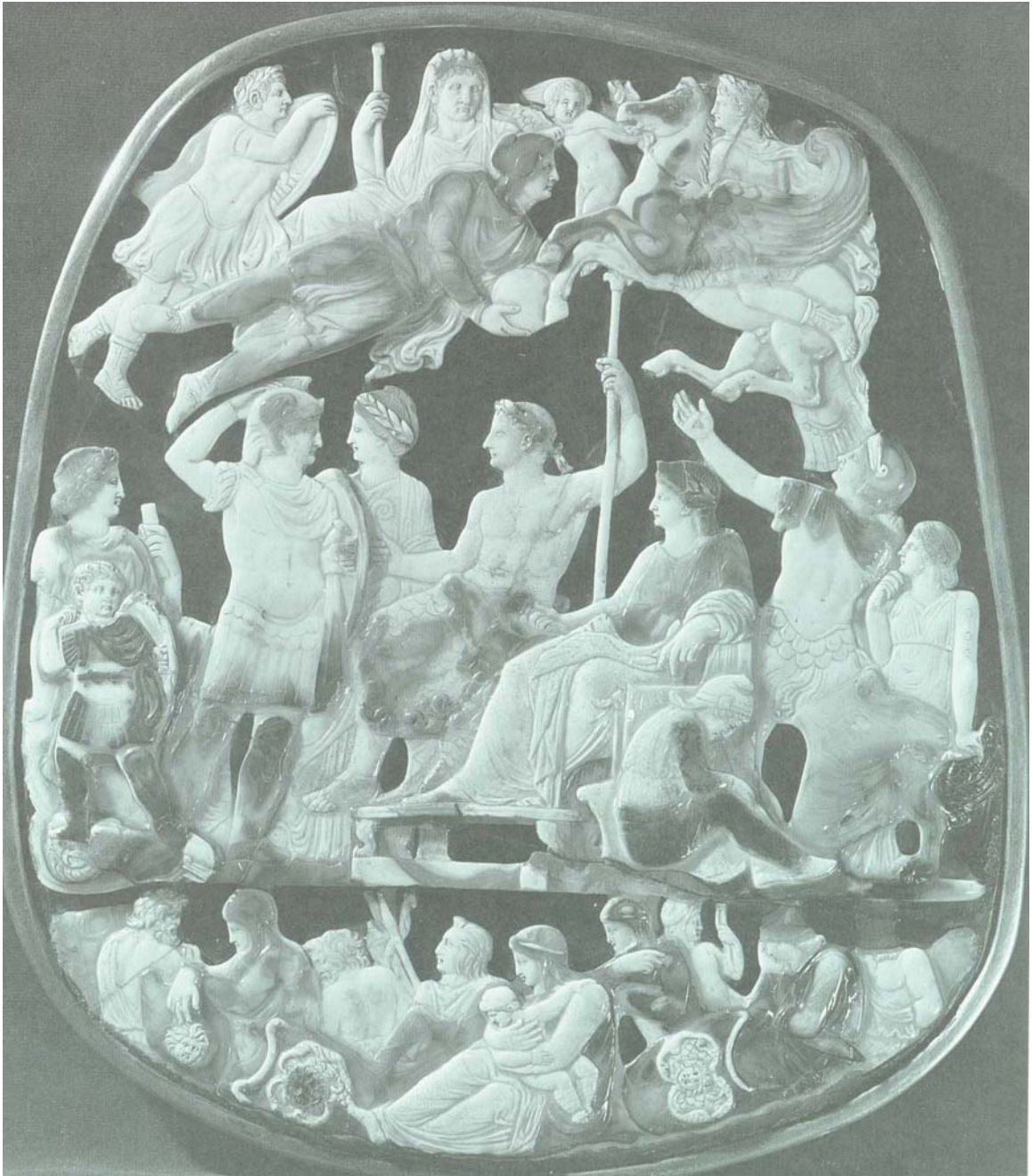
Images for Chapter 3



3.16 Sheath of Tiberius
(British Museum)



3.17 Gemma Augustea
(Vienna)



3.18 Grand Camée
(Paris)

Images for Chapter 3



3.19 (*RPC* 3916)
Capricorn and
Scorpio



3.20 (*RIC* 3)
Tiberius in Chariot



3.21 (*RIC* 5.20)
Victory seated on Globe



3.22 (*BMCRE* 113)
Victory represented by Empty Chariot

Images for Chapter 3



3.23 (*RPC* 3919)
Coin from Pella honoring IVLIA AVGVSTA



3.24 (*BMCRE* 98)
Coin honoring Drusus
with Livia as Pietas



3.25 (*RIC* 46)
Livia as Iustitia



3.26 (*BMCRE* 81)
Livia as Salus Augusta



3.27 (*RIC* 51)
Carpentum dedicated to
supplicatio for Livia

Images for Chapter 3



3.28 (RIC 48)
Coin depicting statue
in honor of Tiberius



3.29 (RIC 42)
Coin in honor of Drusus
featuring his twin sons



3.30 (RIC 36b)
Coin of Augustus advertising
the *Clipeus Virtutis*



3.31 (RIC 38)
Clementiae with bust of
Augustus



3.32 (RIC 39)
Moderationi with bust of
Augustus



3.33 (RIC 356)
Coin of Augustus with
his image on shield

Images for Chapter 3



3.34.a (*BMCRE* 198)
Coin of Augustus displaying *Corona Civica*



3.34.b (*BMCRE* 109)
Coin of Tiberius dedicating
Corona Civica to Augustus



3.35 (*BMCRE* 146)
Divus Augustus Pater
aes featuring
Ara Providentiae

Images for Chapters 4 and 5

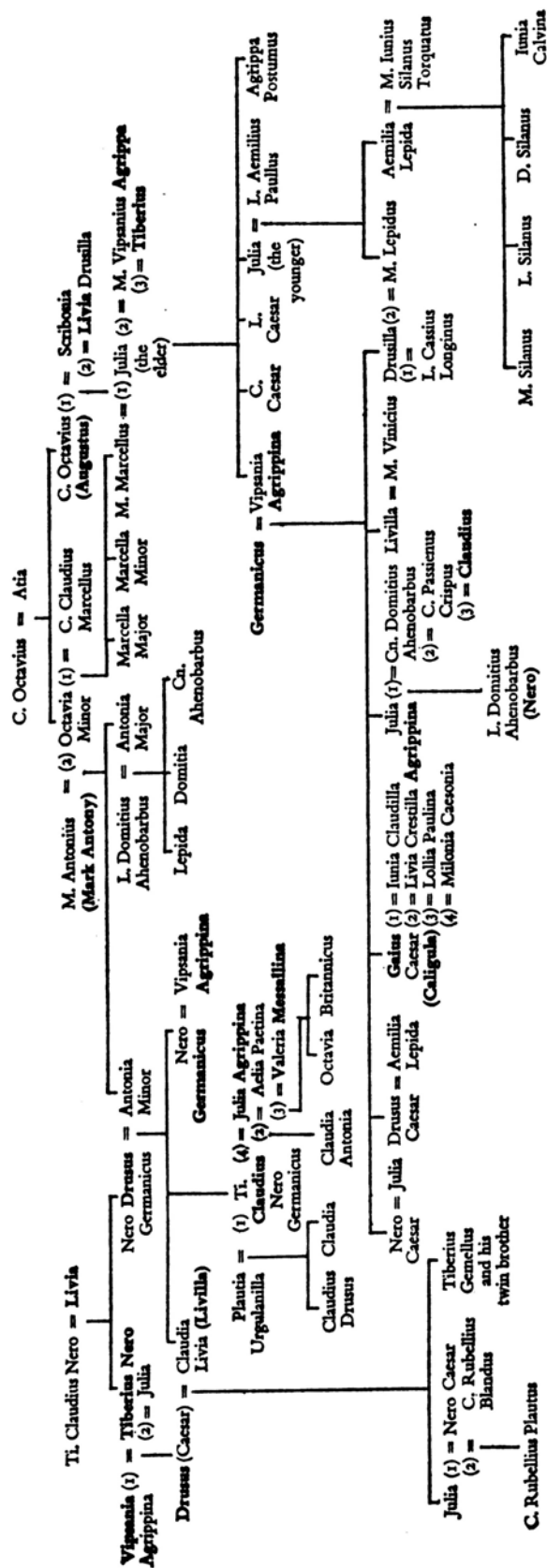


4.1 Coins advertising recovery of Parthian Standards (*RIC* 514, 517)



5.1 Coin advertising consulship of Sejanus (*RPC* 398)

B The family of Augustus



Names given in bold type are in each case the form by which their owner is most commonly known.

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RESEARCH PLANS

I am currently working on an analysis of Tacitus' account of the burning of the Capitolium in the *Histories*. In the future I would like to write a book elaborating upon the theories examined in my dissertation, particularly the use of the charismatic image of Augustus by later emperors to promote their own regimes.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Tennessee

2004-2005 Lecturer, Classical Studies

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- Taught lecture course in Roman Civilization

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1998-2004 Associate Instructor, Classical Studies

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- Taught lecture course in Greek and Latin Medical Terminology
- Coordinated correspondence courses in Roman Civilization and Greek and Latin Medical Terminology

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- Maintained department web pages
- Student employee of the year 2002-2003

2002-2004 Research Assistant to Professor Cynthia Bannon

- Assisted in research for project involving Roman water rights
- Assisted in development of slide collection for a course in Classical Mythology

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April 2005 CAMWS Annual Meeting Madison, WI
The Headless State: Tacitus and the burning of the Capitolium

January 2004 APA Annual Meeting San Francisco, CA
Hunting for Boars with Pliny and Tacitus

March 2002 Graduate Student Conference Bloomington, IN
The Myth of Euhemerus

January 2002 APA Annual Meeting Philadelphia, PA
Two Horns, Three Religions: How Alexander the Great Ended Up in the Koran

April 2000 CAMWS Annual Meeting Knoxville, TN
The Poisoning of the Julio-Claudians in Tacitus' Annales

DISSERTATION

Divus Augustus Pater: Tiberius and the Charisma of Augustus

REFERENCES

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